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MAN IN INDIA. ~~A573~~

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I. PREHISTORIC MAN IN INDIA AND THE  
KURNOOL BONE CAVES :

A NEGLECTED FIELD OF INQUIRY.

BY L. A. CAMMIADE, BAR-AT-LAW.

*Sometime Collector of Karnool (Madras).*

The scientific world and also the general public have of late been much attracted by the study of the origins of man. Great interest has specially been taken in the finds of primitive skulls that have been reported from Africa and elsewhere. Newspapers have been full of articles on the Taungs skull, on the Boskop skull, on the Galilean skull and on the origins and distribution of Neanderthal man. There have also been speculations in plenty as to the part of the world that can rightly claim to have been the cradle of the human race. Some have thought South Africa to have been the home of the first men and they have quoted the authority of Darwin in support of their view. Others have been of opinion that the home of the first men was in Central Asia. Throughout those speculations no mention has been made of India. The object of this paper is

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to show that with a little search in the right quarter India might produce evidence of the highest value on the origins of man and on his progress in palaeolithic times.

India was exceptionally well populated in palaeolithic times. On this point no better evidence is needed than the profusion of chipped stone implements to be found throughout a large area of the Deccan and the Madras Presidency. Implements of palaeolithic type can be picked up by the sackful any day and almost anywhere on the laterite plains of Madras indicating that there is hardly a suitable spot, on the laterite, which was not occupied at some time or another as a camping ground during the palaeolithic period. But the laterite was not the only inhabited area. Implements of various palaeolithic types are to be found in similar large quantities in other localities.

There have from time to time come to hand— (1) very crude implements, (eolithic type?) from the high ground between the Tungabhadra and the Hindri, west of Kurnool town; (2) rostro-carinates from the ancient gravels of the Bhayanasi and of the Sagilēru; (3) acheulean types from the gravels of the Jureru at Banganapalle; (4) mid-palaeolithic types from Yerra-konda-palem and from new Gundla Brahmeswaram and from the banks of the upper Hindri near Dhone; (5) tardenoisean and microlithic from near Diguvumetta and Gāzulepalle. It is worth noting that all these types are from the single district of Kurnool. The

Godavary district has been equally fruitful in variety of types. These are the only two districts I have been able to examine with some care. It is probable that an examination of other districts will yield an equally miscellaneous variety of types and in similar large quantities.

✓ An explanation of the extraordinary abundance of stone implements of palaeolithic type in the peninsular portion of India may perhaps be found in the fact that in palaeolithic times India possessed a climate exceedingly suitable for the propagation of the human species and far more so than that of Europe of that period. This is a point for geologists. Some of them who have considered the question have already expressed the opinion that at the time when man was struggling in Europe through a succession of glacial periods, India enjoyed a climate not markedly dissimilar from that we now enjoy. That is to say, India had at that time a climate where man could have lived in comfort without the need of clothing or shelter. He had also the enormous advantage that he could procure on these plains plenty of good food. To this day these plains support various kinds of deer, antelope, pigs, porcupine, hare, peafowl, jungle fowl and a great variety of lesser ground game, while in palaeolithic times these same plains must have been well stocked with herds of elephants, bison, wild horses and other big game.

In addition to the easy life possible under tropical conditions, early man found in the open

plains of the Deccan and the Carnatic a far safer and more comfortable home than was possible in the damp dark caves of the rocky river valleys of Europe. Owing to the predominance of laterite or of *kunkur* as of shales the soil in many parts of Southern India is of poor fertility and practically treeless, the only vegetation being grass and scrub jungle. In open country like that, man, even unarmed, can hold his own against even the most furious of wild beasts. On this point it may be observed that our Indian cattle graziers are so well aware of the advantages of the open country that they find no need for guns or weapons of any kind when grazing their cattle in the neighbourhood of tiger-infested forests.

If, as there is good reason to believe, India was extraordinarily well populated in palaeolithic times, why is it that no one has as yet found any human remains in India that can with any degree of assurance be held to be of the ancient period when chipped stones were in use?

The best explanation for the non-discovery of human remains in India in association with stone implements is that the great majority of the stations where the makers of the implements lived are on non-calcareous soils. Human or animal bones cannot be preserved for any length of time unless the soil in which they lie is calcareous or unless the water that percolates through the soil is impregnated with calcareous matter. Moreover most of the stations being on open plains, bones, unless buried, would soon be scattered and washed away or crumble into dust.

On realising the hopelessness of expecting to discover ancient human remains in an area of laterite, I made efforts to find whether men of the stone age in India did not at any time make settlements on calcareous soil. After a while I came across a few such settlements. This discovery is much against the theory that early man in India was unable to make settlements elsewhere than on the laterite. The implements found in these settlements were of various types ranging from the well-known pointed oval palæolithic type down to microliths. But the chief interest in these finds lay in the fact that in several instances the implements were unmistakeably associated with fossil bones of some species of bison and of deer and the bones were in such quantities as to prove beyond reasonable doubt that they were the remains of feastings of the men who had used the implements that lay near the bones. Time and circumstances did not permit me to make a prolonged search and I found no human remains, though at one place the conditions seemed very promising. I hope to have the bones examined by a palæontologist to see what light they may throw on the age of the implements with which they were associated. My object in mentioning here about these finds is that others may similarly search on calcareous areas for settlements of the stone age and on finding them may make an intensive search for fossils in association with the stone implements. I would recommend chiefly the search of eroded ground in the neighbourhood of streams and rivers when the

alluvium is being cut up by gullies and the ancient gravels exposed without any great disturbance. Such places cost nothing to explore and have yielded to me excellent results.

But the prospect of finding on eroded ground the remains of early man in association with the implements he used and the animals he lived upon are negligible when compared with the prospect of finding such remains under the floors of caves and rock shelters. The trouble in India is to find caves worth exploring. Caves and rock shelters are plentiful enough in India, but unfortunately they are not calcareous or are in localities which it would have been impossible for early man to inhabit. Up to now there is only one locality in the whole of India where fossiliferous caves are known to exist—the Kurnool district in the Madras Presidency. In a huge country like India it is not likely that Kurnool is the only place where fossiliferous caves exist. It is much to be desired that some one will dig among the records of the geological department and local gazetteers and compile a list of localities in India where caves and rock shelters exist in calcareous rock and under conditions that may have rendered them habitable to early man. Any one doing so will render a valuable assistance to all who would like to investigate the early history of the human race in India.

Until such a list is available, the Kurnool bone caves will hold the place of pride. It is a good eighty years now since those caves were discovered

to be fossiliferous and it is over forty years since Bruce Foote found in them heaps of fossil bones intermixed with a few pendants made of teeth and some pieces of bone which he considered to be implements of Magdalenian type. It is well known that the implements he found were never properly described and that they have all been lost. It would obviously be of the greatest interest if some more bone implements could be found in those caves and if some of the anomalies noticed by Bruce Foote in the course of his excavation were cleared up and especially if some explanation were forthcoming as to why no stone implements were found in association with those made of bone.

Therefore, when about the beginning of 1925, I found myself unexpectedly posted as Collector of Kurnool, I endeavoured to take up and further the good work commenced by Bruce Foote.

Bruce Foote explored in all about six caves, but found only one group, the Billa Surgam caves, to be fossiliferous. These caves are situated in the limits of the village of Kottala about three miles to the south-east of the Betamcherla railway station. They adjoin each other and it is probable they were originally parts of a single large cave. Bruce Foote described them as "consisting of three deep but very short canyons joined by natural arches. The various caves open into the canyons at different levels. The canyons themselves were once caves of large size, the



roofs of which have fallen in, in great part". Owing to the dry climate of Kurnool the trenches dug by Bruce Foote in the caves and the spoil earth which he dumped near the entrances are to this day in pretty much the same condition as when he stopped work forty years ago. Bruce Foote excavated the caves so thoroughly that as far as I could see in the course of my inspection there was not much scope left for any discovery of importance to be made in any of them. But if the inside of the caves are not promising, the same is not the case as regards the outside. As Bruce Foote himself observed, the canyons now leading up to the caves were once caves of large size: in fact they were the vestibules of the three caves. That being the case, the proper place to excavate would be the portions which, as Bruce Foote himself states, were once caves of large size. For some inexplicable reason, Bruce Foote commenced work at the present day entrances to the caves and excavated inward. That is to say, he neglected the place which was once a well-lighted and spacious cavern and dug in a part of the caves which at the time when the cave was complete must have been low, dark, damp and dismal and infested with rats, bats, bandicoots and porcupine. It has seemed to me that all the anomalies Bruce Foote found in the state of the fossils may be explained by the fact that the portion he excavated had never been inhabited by man or large beasts but had merely been the lairs of nothing larger than porcupines. The porcupines certainly inhabited the cave in large numbers for

the majority of the fossil bones found by Bruce Foote bore marks of their teeth and many of them had been gnawed to such an extent that Bruce Foote for a time took them to be vaguely-shaped artifacts. The absence of crania or of portions of crania whose mandibles were found in considerable numbers was a puzzle to Bruce Foote. But if the agency of percupines be admitted, there is no difficulty in understanding why large crania like that of the rhinoceros were not found along with their mandibles. Similarly, if the portion explored by Bruce Foote had merely been the lairs of darkness-loving animals and not a place of human habitation, it is easy to understand why no fire-place or burnt earth or ashes were found intermixed with the fossils in the level at which the fossils were found. Even the presence of the teeth pendants and of the few undoubted bone implements found along with the fossils may be accounted for on the supposition that they, like the charcoal, were mere stray objects that had accidentally found their way into the darker recesses of the cave.

The suggestion I have made that the portion explored by Bruce Foote had not been a place of human habitation during palæolithic times is enormously strengthened by the failure of Bruce Foote to find even one undoubted stone artifact, intermixed with the fossils: the only bit of stone he found having any semblance to an implement was but a triangular splinter of a



rock crystal. Surely the makers of the bone implements found by Bruce Foote must have used some implements made of stone at least for the purpose of cutting, sawing, drilling and trimming their bone implements. It is also to be observed that Bruce Foote himself found in the close neighbourhood of the caves several stone implements of the familiar pointed oval type, and I have shown that implements of various other types are to be found at no great distance from the caves. It is therefore exceedingly probable that the men who made the implements to be found near the caves also occupied them.

On the strength of these facts I would strongly advise the exploration of the original entrances of the caves which, now extend from the canyons up to the caves. The work of exploration will be rather troublesome because first the debris of the roof will have to be cleared as also the dumps made by Bruce Foote and then there will be found a hard thick floor of limestone to be broken through and cleared before the fossiliferous deposit of red cave earth is reached.

I need not go further into this subject at present. More detailed information will be found in a note that appeared in the last issue of this journal.

The caves explored by Bruce Foote are only part of a number that honeycomb a long range of limestone hills, the Erramalais, that run from north to south for about fifty miles in the Kurnool district. Although Bruce Foote did

not find any fossils in two or three other caves that he examined, I am not sure whether his failure was not due to his having omitted to search the original entrances of the caverns which in this area has a tendency to fall in until what was once a cave becomes in the end an open canyon leading from the present day river valleys to the flat tops of the limestone hills. Given the calcareous nature of the rocks, every cave and canyon in the limestone hill area is a promising field for investigation specially as stone implements are to be found in great numbers in these parts. I have not been able to get a list of the more promising caves; but from what I have seen personally I think the numerous caves and rock shelters in ravines in which the Yaganti pagoda stands, one mile N. N. W. of Banganappalle, are exceedingly promising. Bruce Foote has also mentioned a group of small caves situated about three miles to the North of Billa Surgam which, in his opinion, seemed to promise good results. I think the group referred to by Bruce Foote is either in the canyon that runs close to the north of the railway line at mile 308 of the Guntakal Bezwada railway or is the group that lies to the south of the line at mile 308  $\frac{1}{2}$  and known locally as the Kistawa Kōna (valley). I would also suggest the exploration of the Gururum-padina-tade, a very big cave two miles to the south of Betamchala that has many ramifications and exits and a subterranean stream. There is also the Sinīgasi-vani-Gavi, three miles from Betamcherla which has a succession of domed chambers and runs far into the hill.

Had it been possible I would have gladly investigated one of these caves. But before starting investigations it was desirable first to know what caves there were that seemed worth investigation. I hope the information I have now given, scanty and incomplete as it is, may tempt some one with sufficient leisure to start the serious investigation of the Kurnool bone caves. To those disposed to investigate these caves I may give the assurance that the caves are not as inaccessible as they may seem from the vague description of their location given by Bruce Foote and to be found in text books. There was indeed a time when Kurnool was a rather inaccessible district and a visit to the caves might have involved a good deal more trouble and expense than most people can afford. But that time has gone. The railway from Bezwada to Guntakal cuts through the northern extremity of the limestone hill and there are three railway stations, Betamcherla, Banganapalle and Passem, in close proximity to the cave area. I may also mention that Mr. Sesha Reddi of Betamcherla, M. L. C., and mine owner is a public spirited gentleman who has a personal knowledge of many of the caves and will be glad to help those wishing to visit caves lying in the northern part of the Erramalai hills, while those who would visit the more southerly caves will find all the help they need from the young and amiable Nawab of Banganapalle.

For the glory of India I hope some one will be able to carry to a successful issue the exploration of the Kurnool bone caves, and that valuable finds will richly reward his enterprise.

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## II. SOME OBJECTS OF ANTHROPOLOGY.\*

By J. P. MILLS, M. A., I. C. S.

"What is the good of Anthropology?" is a question one often hears, asked. It might be answered in many ways. Answer it somehow we must, for those who doubt the utility of our studies have a right to expect us to be ready to give a reason for the faith that is in us. I think Anthropology primarily arose from the deep-seated desire of mankind to look at itself in a mirror. Human beings naturally want to see what kind of creatures they are. Anthropology indeed might almost be defined as racial introspection, the study of the human race by itself. So broad a science naturally tends to divide itself into departments, which, however, not only merge one into the other, but are linked with other branches of knowledge. For example, Physical Anthropology, hand in hand with Geology, Palæontology, Zoology and Physiology, concerns itself with the development of the human body throughout the ages and with its present form and attributes. It shows, stage by stage, with marvellously few gaps nowadays, our evolution from the lowest forms of life. The story gives one furiously to think. From the protoplasm, in countless ages, developed the vertebrate fishes. Then came the reptiles. The world was for thousands of years a reptile world, and in it lived the counterparts of the carnivora, the vegetable feeders, the birds, and the sea and river beasts of today. Huge bulk and

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\* This paper was read before the Anthropological section of the fourteenth session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in January 1927.

physical strength were the weapons used in the struggle for existence. Then came mammals, which first made a weapon of the brain—a weapon which has lasted till our day. With it they conquered the reptiles and took their place. Finally one of them, man, was enabled by his upright gait to leave his hands free to develop his brain far beyond that of any other mammal and he became supreme. How long he will continue to reign we do not know. The mosquito has caused the fall of empires, and has kept many races in a stage of lethargy and backwardness. It may be that insects, by the diseases they carry, may yet cast man from the place he has held so short a time.

Another branch, Psychological Anthropology, is as yet in its infancy. It too is linked with Physiology, for the mind cannot be studied without knowledge of its instrument, the brain. Here the evidence upon which are founded theories of the development of the human mind is found to be largely hypothetical, for mental processes leave no fossils in the rocks. But from casts of the interiors of ancient skulls and from the study of the cultural remains of our remote ancestors we can learn much about their brains and mental development: From a comparison of the behaviour of animals with that of human beings further inferences can be drawn.

The evolutionary aspect of Psychological Anthropology leads us immediately to Archæological Anthropology, which deals with the development of human culture from its first appearance on the earth to the present day. Stone implements, the

painted walls of caves, the strata of sites inhabited long ago, kitchen-middens, ancient burials—all help to show us how man once lived. Here too other sciences come to our aid. The zoologist examines the bones of other animals found with those of man, and the geologist gives us the relative age of strata, while for comparatively recent times the historian adds his quota of knowledge.

Anyone who has studied Anthropology as a whole, however lightly, cannot fail to be struck by the fact that prehistoric culture has its counterpart in the world to-day. The Australian aboriginal is still in the stone age, and the rock paintings of the Bushmen closely resemble those of prehistoric man in the caves of France and Spain. So we come to Social Anthropology, the largest and probably the most important branch of the science, which studies the cultures of to-day and considers how they have developed and how they are related to each other. The historian is a strong ally here, and Chemistry, Botany, Medicine and many another specialised science can help us.

This rough outline of the main departments of Anthropology reveals at once one of its great uses. It links up the sciences, and combines them where they converge on man. That is why there is no science which an anthropologist can study without becoming a better anthropologist, and why every scientist is to some extent an anthropologist (albeit often an unconscious one), since the object of all science is to make man more fitted for his environment, and Anthropology is the study of



how man reacts and has reacted, physically and mentally, to his environment.

"But", says the critic, "there is no time in the busy world of today for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. We must all be practical men nowadays". Here he is wrong, very wrong. Anyone who wishes to associate only with "practical men" had better make his home with the most primitive race he can find. There he will get with a vengeance the companionship he desires. The higher the culture we examine the more traces we find of speculative thought. The darkest ages of science in Western Europe are those in which it confined itself to utilitarian objects, and sought chiefly for the elixir which would ward off old age and death, and the touchstone which would turn base metals into gold. Knowledge only grants her choicest gifts when she is sought for her own sake and we are content to follow where she seems to lead. No increase of knowledge, however trivial and useless it may seem at the moment, is without value, for a way of applying it will most certainly be revealed in time. The hard-headed business men of the time probably regarded as idle cranks the first scientists who toyed with an electric current.

The knowledge which Anthropology gives has long been sorely needed, and never more than it is today. In ancient days travel was slow, difficult and dangerous, and, save when some upheaval caused whole nations to migrate, the

parties which reached the uttermost parts of the earth were usually few and small. They could only offer the culture they brought with them to the races with which they came in contact; they could not force it on them. There was gentle culture contact, but there was no culture clash. These small parties usually either were absorbed, or departed. Sometimes they became islands of foreign culture, like the trading colonies of the Phœnicians and Greeks. With the Renaissance in Europe came improved methods of navigation which made possible the discovery of America, or its rediscovery, if we take into account the early visits of Norsemen. Culture contact of advanced people with the primitive now became culture clash. Foreigners poured in with the deliberate intention of destroying the culture of the American Indian and of ousting him from his lands and possessions both in the North and South of the continent. Resistance was hopeless, for the invaders had with them weapons far superior to anything they found opposed to them and behind them practically infinite reinforcements which could be called up if need be. The story of South Africa is not dissimilar. Later Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania and other temperate lands were invaded. The occupation of tropical countries was usually confined to the establishment of trading stations which had comparatively slight effect on the culture of the surrounding people. The invention of the steam engine brought a fundamental change. Trains and steamers



made travel speedier and easier than ever. Further countries of the West which had formerly been mainly agricultural became covered with factories. They could no longer support their population and had to obtain food and raw material in exchange for their manufactured goods. Thus began that feverish search for markets which is one of the most interesting, and possibly one of the most deadly, features of modern life. No longer was the man who conserved held in high esteem but the man who spent; the prospective buyer was the man to be sought out and flattered. From that time traders swarmed over the earth in a way never known before, buying the raw products of the lands they visited and settled in, and giving in exchange so-called civilization in the form of manufactured articles and a caricature of the culture which produced them. The result has been everywhere the cultural decay of primitive races and in many places their extinction. To seek out the reasons for this disaster, which has no parallel in human history and to check it, as far as may be is the great task before anthropologists today, as is witnessed by the papers recently read before the British Association at their Oxford meeting. It is a problem of this age, unknown in former ages. Some of the reasons for the harm done are obvious. Human nature being what it is, cheap-jack wares will always find a market; to primitive taste a German celluloid armlet is just as good as one laboriously made from shell or ivory, and far easier to acquire. Clothes of the

West have been thrust upon simple folk everywhere by those whose prudish minds see evil in the body which God made. Nor does it usually require much urging to get them worn, for members of a primitive social group are ever ready to ape the customs of those belonging to a group which they regard as a higher one. The dress of the West, even when new, is probably the most unlovely ever devised by the wit of man; when it is in rags (as it usually is when worn by a savage) it is horrible beyond words. Worse still it is utterly unsuitable for hot climates, and has brought with it disease and death. More destructive even than the trader with his stock of cheap finery and unsightly chemises is the would-be reformer who regards as only fit for destruction any custom differing from his own. In many lands have such men ruined primitive races by destroying the old cultures, laboriously built up in generations of experience in that particular environment, long before those who held them could understand and absorb the new one. It is not always realised by those who have not themselves watched them how deliberate and thorough are the efforts made to sweep away indigenous customs just because they are indigenous, substituting for that variety which is the spice of life a flat uniformity. Needless to say it is the reformers who settle the customs which are to be adopted, often quite regardless of the particular environment in which they are to be exercised. Dr. Parke in his forward to Maurice T. Price's *Christian Missions and Oriental*

*Civilizations* \* leaves no doubt in our minds. He says, speaking of the objects of American Protestant Missions, "It is this task of hastening a common culture in which all races and peoples may share that constitutes the real mission of Christian Missions". Or again later in the book (p. p. 495-496) "Sociologically speaking, this aim [i. e. the Protestant Missionary's aim] implies, first, producing such disintegration of social organization as dethrones any forces that oppose him or that will not submit to him.....Conflict and disorganization are specifically aimed at, systematically planned for, and persistently and thoroughly worked toward.....". We, anthropologists, know that this is wrong. While it would be far from true to say that all customs of all races are good, yet suddenly to sweep away the entire culture of a race is to ruin it. To expect a race to adjust itself immediately to a new social scheme is like trying to turn a tank fish into a sea fish by putting it into salt water; it dies, and so does the savage. The late Dr. Rivers has shown that races deprived of their old interests tend to dwindle and become extinct. It is only in the few islands of the South Seas where the inhabitants

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\* *Christian Missions and Oriental Civilization. A Study in Culture Contact* by Maurice T. Price; Shanghai 1924. This is a book worthy of the attention of all anthropologists. It should, however, be realised that the point of view expressed is that of certain dissenting bodies. It is by no means that of the main body of the Christian Church from which they have split off. The term "Christian" as used by Dr. Parke and the author must therefore be understood in a modified sense.

have been able to fight off the foreigner with his imported culture that a healthy, numerous population is still to be found. This resistance cannot last for ever. In the modern world culture clash is inevitable, and the problems arising from it are nowhere greater than in our Empire. By study of facts and conditions, and the advocacy of sane, cautious and scientific methods Indian anthropologists can do a great work.

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### III. PULAPPEDI AND MANNAPPEDI IN SOUTH TRAVANCORE.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A. (*Trivandrum*).

Sociology with its manifold ramifications is naturally an interesting study, and nowhere does it present so many engaging nooks and unexplored corners as on the West Coast. Cut off as she is from the rest of South India by the huge mountain barriers of the Western Ghats, Kērala had till lately remained stagnant like her unruffled backwaters and had preserved intact many of her ancient customs and manners, although by another curious dispensation of Providence, her hospitable littoral had welcomed the western adventurers of commerce and of religion from quite an early past, her famous marts had thronged with jostling crowds of the Greek and the Roman, the Moor and the Chinaman, the Portuguese and the Dutch, and her religious conscience had been assiduously angled by the Aryan and the Arab, the Patriarch and the Pope. But this almost paradoxical combination of eastern placidity and western restlessness has somehow left but a light impress on the mould of West Coast society, so that in this human museum in miniature, one can now see, side by side, all the various shades of civilisation,—from the ancient type of a half-clad, top-knotted Nambudiri, intoning the primitive Rig-Vedic chants in praise of Sōma and scanning the cloud-veiled play ground of the Aryan gods, to the tailor-made, American-cropped, England-returned hopeful, build-

ing his 'three castles' of smoke and imbibing in leisurely sips his latest substitute for the Vedic beverage. In this happy home therefore of immutable conservatism and progressive ideas, of primitive nepotism and advanced female education,—in this desert that still blows a stiff tornado of acrimony on a section of swarthy humanity called the 'depressed' classes but where the first seed of Christianity is said to have fallen on fruitful soil so early as the first century A.D.,—it is in this land of extremes, where the East and the West have co-existed apart from quite a long time ago, that one can expect to unearth some interesting fossils of curious practices and defunct customs.

But the particular social practice that I propose to describe in this short paper is, though not so ancient, nevertheless interesting, and is, in addition, as inexplicable as it is perhaps unprecedented elsewhere in South India. It is called the *Pulappēdi* and the *Mannāppēdi*, which two of the polluting classes, the Pulaiyar<sup>1</sup> and the Mannār<sup>2</sup> of South Travancore, exercised during a particular portion of the year. These privileges were also known as *Pulappēdi* and *Mannāppēdi*, i. e. capture (*pidi*) by the Pulaiyan or the Mannān, as against the other names *Pulappēdi* and *Mannāppēdi*, i. e. terror (*Pēdi*) from these castes on account of their kidnapping tendencies. The reason why this peculiar practice has been described here at some length is that this paper, however incomplete in its

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<sup>1</sup> The Pulaiyar are the agricultural serfs.

<sup>2</sup> The Mannār are the washermen for the lower classes; they are called the Perada-mannān.

material, may yet provoke fruitful enquiry among scholars in other provinces of India who help us with useful information as to the prevalence or otherwise of similar practices elsewhere. An added importance attaches to this subject, because it is mentioned in a Tamil inscription of the 17th century A.D. engraven on the four faces of a roadside-pillar at Tiruvidāngōḍu, a village in South Travancore, which has given the present name of Travancore to this premier state.

Dr. Gundert has explained 'Pulappēḍi-ulla-kālam' as the month of Karkāṭaka, <sup>3</sup> during which high-caste women may lose caste, if a slave happen to throw a stone at them after sunset.' This contamination, non-corporal though it was, was considered so obnoxious that the polluted women were excommunicated on the spot and had to accompany their low caste aggressors: and the fear of this serious social ostracism on such short notice and on such flimsy grounds was therefore so great that, in those days respectable high-caste women of the Sūdra community would not dare to go out of their houses at dusk and without proper escort during the particular month, when this curious prerogative was enjoyed by the low castes. But as there is no man-made rule without its exception, women who were accompanied by a male child, at least three years old, or who touched a palmyra of the male variety (*tār-panai*) were

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<sup>3</sup> Mr. S. Desikavinayakam Pillai informs me that the privilege was enjoyed by these classes from the close of the harvest in Kumbham up to about a third of the month of Mādam.



considered as beyond the pale of the power of the Pulaiyas. This proviso appears to have been utilised by the ready-witted women who dressed up their own little girls (when a boy was not available as escort) with a loin cloth and went about on their business flouting the incubus of *pulappēdi* and *mannāpēdi*, so long as their trick went undetected. One other peculiar feature of this practice was that, if the Pulaiyas happened to 'capture' a pregnant woman by the stone-throw they kept her in a separate hut till the time of her confinement, and retained or set her free according as she gave birth to a female or a male child.

This must have been quite a curious usage indeed; but excepting a vague reminiscence of it, which is still current in common talk when the old folk refer to the '*Pulappēdi-kālam*' as a bygone period of great distress and confusion, no definite information is now available as to how this peculiar social custom originated, how these depressed classes who have always been trodden under foot came to acquire this unheard-of privilege in a particular month of the year, and why the 'higher' castes had also tolerated this apparent outrage with an indifference hardly conceivable in these sticklers of social superiority. This aspect of the custom makes it more mysterious.

Some ingenuity has been expended to trace the significance of this practice, but none of these explanations has been able to reach its bottom. It is just possible that at one time or another,



the Pulaiyas—either the usually peaceful agricultural serfs or their more truculent brethern of the hills—had grown intractable and had abducted the womenfolk of the higher castes; and that their masters who were probably powerless at that time to quell the rebellion had to come to terms by the grant of this nominal concession, while they took necessary precautions to keep their womenfolk out of harm's way. But this fact is clear, namely,—that the untouchable classes appear to have utilised the short month of their power with some vindictiveness in memory of the other ten months and odd of their usual degradation; and royal intervention was rendered imperative to cry halt to this practice.

Whatever the origin of this social freak, the Travancore king Vīra Kēralavarman (A. D. 1695) appears to have realised the gravity of the situation and the lawlessness that it was leading up to, and to have taken immediate steps to stop the practice by a peremptory order that the *pulappēdi* and *maṇṇappēdi* shall not be practised and that it was war to the knife on any Pulaiyan or Maṇṇān who dared to set aside this restriction. The severity of the punishment proposed to be meted out to the transgressors could not have been more forcibly expressed than by the threat that for one Pulaiyan's fault not even the 'unborn embryo' in his community will be spared, and that it will be 'dug out of the womb' and slain,—surely! an inhuman threat which would, however, have effectively served its terrorising purpose,

without the cropping up of any occasion for its being put into actual practice. The poor Pulaiyans have had enough of troubles already, without this addition to that lengthy catalogue.

More potent perhaps than this threat was the wise royal order that a woman so polluted by the 'stone-throw' or touch of a Pulaiyan could purify herself by a simple plunge in a tank. This sane clause necessarily robbed the *Pulapēdi* of its 'polluting horror', and deprived of this zest for the 'stone-throwing hunt' that he may otherwise have had, the Pulaiyan must have felt as powerless as a cobra whose fangs had been extracted. This easy *prāyaschitta* coupled with the terrible denunciation against the aggressors referred to above, must have so effectually rooted out the *Pulappēdi* and the *Mannappēdi* evils, that even their very origin has now been forgotten, although from the subjoined record they appear to have existed till only 230 years \* ago.

*The text of this quaintly worded epigraph is as follows:*

*Text.*

Kaṇṇi Viyālam niṇṇa Kollam 871, Tai-mādam, 25-tēdi, Saṇiya-āṭcaiyum, Pūra-pakkilattu pratipadavum, Siṇṇak - karaṇavum, Parikam - nāmayōgavum, in-nālāl, Vīra Kērala-varma S'iravā-Mūttatambirāṇ Kalkulattu elundaruli irunнарuli kalppittapaḍikku raṇḍu vaka mahās'anavum kūḍi kalppitt moliyā-vadu.

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\* A friend of mine has informed me that there was fear from the Pulaiyas in Trivandrum even during the life time of his grandfather about seventy years ago.

Tōvālaikku mēkku Kaṇṇērrikkū kilakku kaḍali-  
 num malaikkum akattu akappaṭṭa nāṭṭil pilappēḍiyum  
 Maṇṇāppēḍiyum illa ennv Tamburāṇ tiruvullam-  
 paṇṇi kalppia paḍikku raṇḍu vaka māsanāṇ kūḍi  
 kalppiccu kallu veṭṭi nāṭṭiya kalpaṇa maṇuttu  
 Pilappēḍiyum Maṇṇāppēḍiyum unḍam kālattu  
 Pilayaridēyum Maṇṇāridēyum vakiṇruppilla ādiyā  
 tōṇḍi veṭṭumārum inda kalpaṇa maṇuttu Pilappēḍi-  
 yum Maṇṇārppēḍi enna vakai peṇṇu-pillakku oṇḍāyāl  
 peṇṇumpilla kuliccu kara-ēṇik-koṇḍāl tōlam-alla  
 ennum kalppiccida.

I-vaṇṇam pullum pūmiyum kallum Kāvēriyum  
 olla kālattu naḍakku mārum kalpiccida.

Ippaḍikku tiruvayittum nāṭṭi koṇḍu vattikkariḱ-  
 kum tiruvullam paṇṇi kalppiccida.

Tiruvīdāṅgōttu Geṇḍap-paḍaivittil vaḍakku-vās'al  
 kal veṭṭi nāṭṭiyida.

Indak kallukku kēḍac oru-kālam yādām oruvar...  
 ...vēruc-ceyḍār avagal Gaṅgaik-karaiyil kārām-  
 pasuvai koṇṇa tōsattilp-pōvārākavum.

### *Translation.*

In the Kollam year 871 (A. D. 1695) when  
 Jupiter stood in Kanni on the 25th day of the  
 month of Tai, which was a Saturday, with  
 Sataya-nakshatra, first *tithi* of the first fortnight,  
 Simha-karāṇa, Parikham-yōga—on this day, the  
 following order was issued by the two Mahajanās  
 who had assembled under royal command, when  
 King Vīra Kēralavarman S'īraivāy-Mūttatambirāṇ  
 (the senior member of the S'īraivāy family) was  
 encamped at Kalkulam.

The king having been pleased to order that *Pulappēdi* and *Mannappēdi* shall not be in practice in the territory lying to the West of Tōvāla, to the east of Kaṇṇērri and between the mountain range and the sea, the two assemblages of mahājanas met in deliberation and had the order engraved on stone that, if in transgression of this order, *Pullappēdi* and *Mannappēdi* should again become prevalent, the Pulaiyar and the Maṇṇār shall be slain from the very embryo in the womb, and that any contamination happening to a woman consequent on *Pulappēdi* and *Mannappēdi* shall be considered as removed, if she bathes in a tank and steps out.

In this manner this was ordered to be in force so long as grass, the earth, the stones and the Kāvērī exist.

It was decided that the order be engraved on [a slab of] stone and set up.

This was [accordingly] written on a slab, and it was set up at the northern entrance of the Gaṇḍap-padaivīdu at Tiruvidāṅgōdu.

If any one should cause damage to this stone, he shall incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges.

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#### IV. ON THE INDIAN FOLK-BELIEF ABOUT THE FOUNDATION-SACRIFICE.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

A foundation-sacrifice is the custom of burying a human victim alive at the foundation of an important building, a city or a bridge. This custom has been prevalent since the most ancient times. It was in vogue in ancient Palestine, and excavations carried out in that country have brought to light authentic examples of it. While digging the foundations of Gezer (in Palestine), the skeleton of an adult female was discovered underneath the corner of a house. While the bones of infants were frequently met with in or under the walls of houses. This custom prevailed even to the later Israelite Period. Excavations carried on at Meggide (in Palestine) have brought to light the skeleton of a girl of about fifteen who had been buried across a foundation-stone. While, in the course of digging into the foundation of a tower at Taanach, the skeleton of a child scarcely in its teens was discovered. Similarly, a jar containing the remains of a new-born infant was found placed upon a platform in the crematorium (most likely of Taanach). It is conjectured by scholars that the placing of the jar containing the new-born infant was an act of sacrifice which had been offered at the time when the cave was taken over and used for inhumation. Then again, in the foundations of Gezer, were discovered the remains of infants which had

been buried in jars. These remains of human victims were found along with bowls and lamps. It is further conjectured that this modification of the foundation-sacrifice prevailed in Palestine up to the later period of the Isrælite Monarchy.

It would appear that, during the later periods of the history of ancient Palestine, lamps and bowls were deposited, by way of substitute for the actual human sacrifice, under the corners of houses or chambers or under the jambs of doorways. These bowls are believed to represent the actual sacrificial offering, while the lamps symbolize the lives of the victims. This latter symbolism is rendered plausible by the fact that, in the Old Testament, life is identified with light.<sup>1</sup>

The custom of offering foundation-sacrifices appears to have survived in Europe even up to the Middle Ages. While excavating the walls of the city of Bremen in Germany, skeletons of human beings, who had been buried under the same, were discovered.

The custom has survived in Asia even till recent times. It is said to be prevalent in Siam even at the present day. If it is not seen at the present day, it was prevalent there till comparatively recent times. The custom was and is current even at the present day in China. It is stated that the constructor of the great bridge at Shanghai—the Loh family bridge—met with some difficulty in laying its foundations. So he made

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<sup>1</sup> *The Religion of Palestine.* By Stanley B. Cook, London Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 1908, Pages 41-43.

a vow to the river goddess that he would sacrifice two thousand children if she would allow the foundations to be firmly laid. But she replied that she would not require the actual sacrifice of the victims but would cause an epidemic of smallpox to break out so that half of the required victims might die thereof. It is reported that an epidemic actually broke out and half the victims died of it.

Then again in the same country the necessity for securing the favour of the river gods was considered of greater importance than human lives. Some years ago it was reported that the heads of unwary travellers were being cut off and the sum of £ 10 each was being offered for them by the Public Works Department, as these heads were required for stabilizing the foundation of several new bridges which were in course of erection. <sup>2</sup>

The idea underlying the custom of offering foundation-sacrifices is that, after the human victims have been buried alive, their spirits or ghosts will haunt the foundations of the buildings, cities or bridges, and keep watch and ward thereover. This idea is clearly apparent in the Burmese form of the custom, for, in Burma, whenever a new capital is founded, a certain number of human beings are buried alive under the influence of the belief that they will become *nat-theins*, that these spirits will haunt the place where they are put to death, and that they would attack any person

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<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the article entitled "*Grim Lore of Bridges*" published in the Calcutta Daily "*Englishman*" of the 8th February, 1926.



who may approach these places with malevolent designs. For instance, when the city of Mandalay was founded in 1858, 52 persons of both sexes, and of various ages and ranks were buried alive at the foundations thereof. Along with the four human beings who were buried at the four corners of the new city, were buried four jars full of oil carefully covered over and protected from damage that might be caused to them by the weight of the earth pressing down upon them. These jars of oil were examined by the royal astrologers every seven years. When they were examined in 1880, it was discovered that the oil, in two of the jars, had either completely dried up or had leaked out. Just at this time, a terrible epidemic of small-pox decimated Mandalay, one of the most valuable crown-jewels, an enormous ruby which was regarded as emblematic of the fortunes of the reigning Burmese dynasty since the days of Alaungpaya was stolen, and a tiger escaped from its cage in the royal gardens. The royal astrologers or *pounas* considered all these incidents as very bad omens signifying the wrath of the spirits. Therefore, they advised that the offended spirits should be propitiated by the sacrifice of 100 men, 100 women, 100 boys, 100 girls, 100 soldiers and 100 foreigners. But, as the announcement of these massacres caused great indignation in England, King Theebaw countermanded his order sanctioning the offering of these sacrifices. <sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *The Burman : His Life and Notions.* By Shway Yoe. Third Edition. London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1910. Pages 481-484.



I have already stated above that towards the later period of the history of the Israelite Monarchy, bowls and lamps were offered by way of substitute for the actual burying alive of human victims at the foundations of buildings and edifices. It is stated that, after the expiry of the Middle Ages in Europe and elsewhere, effigies of human beings were buried, in place of living beings, at the foundations of city walls and buildings. <sup>4</sup> But, unfortunately, I have not come across the mention of any actual instances of it.

Sometimes, the custom undergoes an important modification and assumes the form of a folk-belief which demands that blood should be shed on the occasion of the commencement of any important building, the breaking up of unoccupied land or of the opening of a well. For instance, when a new jetty was built at Haifa in 1898 for the landing of the German Emperor, a sheep was sacrificed. <sup>5</sup> This is paralleled by the custom, which is prevalent among the modern Greeks, of sacrificing a cock, a ram, or a lamb at the foundation of a new building and of allowing its blood to flow upon the foundation stone under which the victim's carcass is buried. This sacrifice is performed under the belief that it will afford firmness and stability to the building. <sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Vide the Bengali monthly magazine *Pravasi* (published from Calcutta) for Asvina 1927 B. S. (Sept-Oct. 1919 A. D.), pages 517-518.

<sup>5</sup> Vide, *The Religion of Palestine*. By Stanley A. Cook. Pages 41-43.

<sup>6</sup> *The Golden Bough*. By Sir J. G. Frazer. Abridged Edition. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1923. Page 191.

Sometimes, the place of the human victim is taken by the measure of the human victim's body or of his shadow. It is said that the builder entices the victim to the foundation of the building, measures the latter's body or shadow and buries the measure at the foundation. Sometimes the foundation-stone is laid upon the victim's shadow. It is believed that the man will die in the course of the year. The Roumanians of Transylvania think that the man, whose shadow is thus immured, will die within 40 days. So persons passing by the side of a building in course of erection often hear a warning cry: "Beware, lest they take thy shadow."

In this connection, the custom of burying the effigies of human beings should be compared with that of burying, at the foundations of important edifices, current coins of the realm which bear on them the portrait of the reigning sovereign of the land.

Coming to India, we find that the illiterate and ignorant folk believe that no bridges can be built over large rivers. But, as the exponents of modern engineering science have rendered the building of such bridges over large rivers practicable, the afore-mentioned illiterate folk explain that modern engineers are able to build these bridges after sacrificing human beings to propitiate the godlings or goddesslings who preside over these rivers. It is for this reason that, whenever important bridges are about to be built, mischievous

and ignorant persons spread false reports to the effect that the engineers require human victims for the purpose of either burying them alive or of slaughtering them at the foundations of these bridges for rendering them firm and stable. The taking of each decennial census has also been the occasion for the spread, in the remotest parts of the country-side, of false rumours to the effect that "the Government required victims to be sacrificed at some bridge or other building or that a toll of the pretty girls was to be taken to reward the soldiery after some war." <sup>8</sup>

They further raise the alarm that for the purpose of supplying their demands for human victims, human children are being decoyed by their agents. These false scares have resulted in riots which have caused much bloodshed. Such false scares were spread on the occasion of the building of the Hooghly Floating Bridge at Calcutta, the Dufferin Bridge between Hooghly and Naihati, the Sarsa Bridge over the Padma river and of the Benares water-works. To mention a few modern instances, I may mention that the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta are building a new dock at Kidderpore in the south of Calcutta. Some mischievous persons spread a false report, on Monday and Tuesday the 9th and 10th June 1924, to the effect that the Port Commissioners were demanding children for burying

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<sup>8</sup> Vide Crooke's "*An Introduction to the popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*". (Allahabad Edition, 1894.) page—297.

them alive at the foundations of the new dockyard at Kidderpore (a suburb of Calcutta) in order to make the same stable and firm, and that Punjabi drivers of motorcars and taxi-cabs were decoying children for the purpose of making the latter over to the engineers in charge of the construction of the new dock. Under the influence of this false scare, the hooligans and rowdies of Calcutta kicked up rows in Kidderpore and Kurreya, attacked the Punjabi drivers of taxi-cabs and killed several of them. Many of the rioters have been arrested and are now undergoing trial before the Presidency Magistrates of Calcutta.

Then again, a new bridge is being built at Patna in South Bihar. Some mischievous persons recently spread a false alarm to the effect that the Government was requiring human victims for sacrificing them at the foundations of this bridge and that for this purpose it had hired several sacrificial posts (*hari-kats*).<sup>9</sup> Acting under the influence of this false alarm, the rowdies of the city of Patna and the neighbouring villages attacked strangers and maltreated them under the belief that they were decoying the children for making them over to the engineers in charge of the construction of the bridge. In order to allay the alarm of the public, the District Magistrate of Patna proclaimed by beat of drum that the scare was false. On this subject, the Associated Press sent the following telegram to the Bengali daily newspaper—the *Dainik Basumati* of Calcutta:—

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<sup>9</sup> From the Bengali daily news-paper *Dainik Basumati* of Tuesday, the 10th Ashadha B. S 1331 (24th June 1924).

पटनाय सेतुनिर्माणे

नरवधिर गुज्जः ।

वृद्धजन, निर्दोष व्यक्ति आहतः

ग्रामे जनतार आक्रमणयोगः ।

(यस्योचिपेटेडू प्रेषः)

पाटना, २३ जून ।

पाटनार सेतु निर्माणे उपलब्ध नरवधिर गुज्ज वृद्धिपाहे । वृद्धः गुज्ज से जन्म सकार कतकगुलि हाडि काठ भाड़ा करिपाहेन । इति मध्ये पाटना वृद्धे वृद्धजन निर्दोष व्यक्ति आहत इहयाहे । मफःसलेर वृद्ध जायमाय भित्तु क ओ, वैदेशिक गनेर निर्धारितन जन्म जनता उद्योग करिपाहेन । जिला म्याजिस्ट्रेट, एड भयप्रद गुज्ज सम्पूर्ण मिथ्या बलिया प्रचार करिपाहेन । <sup>10</sup>

### Translation.

*Rumours of offering Human-sacrifices in connection with the building of a Bridge at Patna.*

THE WOUNDING OF TWO INNOCENT PERSONS.

PREPARATIONS MADE BY THE MOB IN THE VILLAGES FOR ATTACKING SUSPICIOUS PERSONS.  
(Associated Press.)

Patna the 23rd June 1924.

Rumours are rife at Patna to the effect that human-sacrifices will be offered in connection with the building of a bridge there. There is a rumour afloat in the city of Patna to the effect that,

<sup>10</sup> The *harikat* is a medium-sized, thick block of wood, one of whose ends is carved into two lyrate arms, leaving an intervening space between them. A hole is drilled through each of these arms, so as to allow of a wooden rod being passed through them. This block of wood is planted in the ground, leaving the lyrate arms projecting out of the ground. The animal victim's neck is inserted through the intervening space between the two lyrate arms. After this has been done, the wooden rod is passed through the two holes, so as to hold the victim's neck tight. The sacrificer chops off the victim's neck with his sacrificial chopper. It is interesting to note that the *harikat*, in addition to its being used in Bengal is also used in Bihar.

for this purpose the Government has hired some sacrificial posts. In the meantime two innocent persons have been maltreated by the mob in the Patna city. In two villages in the mofussil the mob had made preparations for attacking beggars and persons coming from outside places. The District Magistrate of Patna has proclaimed that this alarming rumour is totally false.

The folk-belief about the efficacy of the foundation-sacrifice for rendering the foundation of bridges stable and firm, is widely current in the Madras Presidency. Mr. L. A. Cammiade says that he came across three instances of this belief in that part of India. The first case occurred in the Tinnevely District in the extreme south of India. At Ambasamudram in this district, a railway bridge had been constructed. But at the time of building this bridge, the people of the neighbourhood spread a rumour to the effect that a human being had been sacrificed before commencing the building operations. Mr. Cammiade says: "I tried to ridicule the idea of English railway engineers offering any such sacrifice, but was told by my informants with an air of superior knowledge and, as a final argument, that the bridge could not possibly have remained standing unless human sacrifice had first been offered."

The second case occurred in the Godavari District of the Madras Presidency. The European bridge-contractor, who had undertaken to construct the bridge that spans the river at Rajmundry, experienced the greatest difficulty in inducing his

coolies to begin the work, because he would not himself offer any sacrifice to the deity presiding over the river, nor would he be any party to any kind of sacrifice designed for rendering the foundations of the bridge firm and stable. "Ultimately it was settled that he should give his coolies money and a holiday in order that they might obtain protection for their own individual lives". The coolies brought about the desired end by sacrificing a sheep to the water-deity in this case.

The third case happened about 1920 in the city of Madras. When preparations were being made for widening the Wellington Bridge that spans the river Cooum on which Madras is situated, a rumour was spread to the effect that the engineers in charge of the work desired to sacrifice a human child, to the spirit or deity which presides over the river. The scare caused by this rumour spread to such an extent that many innocent persons were attacked and beaten to death by the infuriated mob under the belief that the former were trying to kidnap children for the sacrifice. <sup>11</sup>

N. P. To come to Western India, I may state that the custom was and is still prevalent in Western India. For it is reported that the river goddess presiding over the river Narbada would never allow any bridge to be constructed over it until it had carried off part of the superstructure and thereby caused the loss of human lives, which loss was regarded as the offering of human sacrifice to appease her deityship's wrath. <sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) for April 1923, page 694.

<sup>12</sup> Vide Crooke's *"Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India"* (Allahabad) Edition 1894. Page—297.



The idea lying at the root of the custom of offering human sacrifices at the time of laying the foundation of bridges, is that the river goddess is wrathful on being deprived of her food by the bridge carrying the passengers safely over the river.

Then again human sacrifices were also offered in the Bombay Presidency in connection with the construction of other works of public utility, such as, lakes and forts. For instance, the Vadāla lake in Bombay would not hold any water in it until its presiding spirit was propitiated by the local headman's daughter being sacrificed to her. Again, when the Shorkot Fort was being built one side repeatedly fell down. A faqir advised the Raja to put a first born son under the rampart. This was done and the wall stood. <sup>13</sup>

Then again, in ancient times in the Bombay Presidency whenever a well was dug or a fort was built a human sacrifice used to be offered in order that water might come out of the well and that the foundations of the fort might be stable. But, at the present day, no such human sacrifice is offered. But, in lieu of it, the blood from the *fourth finger* of a person is taken and sprinkled over the well or the foundations of the fort. <sup>14</sup>

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N. B. This paper was read before the Section of Anthropology of the Twelfth session of the Indian Science Congress held at Benares in January 1925. It has been subsequently modified and enlarged.

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<sup>13</sup> Vide Crooke's *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. (Allahabad Edition, 1894). Page—298.

<sup>14</sup> Vide the *Folklore of Bombay*. By R. E. Enthoven, Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1924. Page 341

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

### I CROCODILE AND ITS SANCTITY IN SOUTH INDIA.

Of the living Saurians of today, if the recently recorded survivors of the extinct genus Dinosaur are excluded, the crocodile is easily of the first magnitude. Its dense horny covering usually considered bullet-proof is described by Job in the 41st chapter. The Leviathan, however, which occurs in 2 other places in the Bible stands for a seamonster in Psalms CIV, 26 and for a snake in Isaiah XXVII. I.

The terror-striking aspect of the crocodile combined with its destructive power is enough to secure for it sanctity among men timid by nature or even otherwise. It is sacred to the Egyptians who consider it a fitting emblem of God because of 2 features. The eye of crocodile as in that of birds is covered by a thin transparent membrane which made the ancients believe that the crocodile like God can see without being seen. The tongue of the crocodile being fixed to the floor of the mouth can neither be raised nor protruded. Hence the crocodile was believed to be tongueless by the ancients who saw in it a resemblance to God who never stands in need of speech but merely ordains all things by his will. The crocodile according to the Hindus is the vehicle of Niridhi, the regent of the South West point of the compass.

The crocodile is carnivorous usually preferring meat rather 'high'. A story in Panchatantra tells us of the fondness of crocodiles for the liver of monkeys. It relates how a monkey friend of a crocodile while being carried to the home of the latter ostensibly on a friendly visit, was told the truth that Mrs. crocodile wished to eat the monkey's liver and how the monkey escaped by his ready wit telling the stupid crocodile he had kept his liver up the Jambu tree. Monkeys are usually seen to worry crocodiles by swinging a branch of a tree over the lagoon and letting the tail drop into the mouth of the crocodile only to be withdrawn when the latter snaps its jaws. The game sometimes ends tragically. The pitcher goes to the well once too often and the monkey is caught and eaten by the patient and lucky crocodile.

To the crocodiles human flesh is a delicacy and accidents to bathers etc. are common all the world over. The phrase "Crocodile's tears" is the surviving reference to an ancient belief that the crocodile—it really has large lachrymal glands—sheds tears over the hard necessity of killing animals for food. It is said to mourn and sigh like one in deep distress to allure travellers to the spot and then shed tears over the prey. Shakespeare in 2 Henry VI-iii-1 says.

"Beguiled as the mournful crocodile

With sorrow snares relenting travellers"

A crocodile is said to be responsible for making Sankaracharya an ascetic. He had long wished to become one but his mother was against it and

once when they were bathing in the river near Kalladi off Angamalai he was caught by a crocodile. He then cried out to his mother and wanted her permission to die as an ascetic and thus depart in peace. No sooner she said he was already an ascetic than Sankaracharya miraculously escaped from the crocodile and lived to be an ascetic. Even Mahadeva is said to have been bitten by a crocodile for a reference to it is found in a *mantram* used by *Mannans* which begins "Even as the swelling of the holy foot of Mahadeva due to the bite of a crocodile has subsided".

In Egypt there is a belief that crocodiles harm no people during the 7 days sacred to Apis. In Kerala it is believed that no member of the Valluvar caste, a caste famous for the beauty of its women, is ever harmed by crocodiles. A common form of "trial by ordeal" is to make the accused wade through or swim across a crocodile-infested river or tank. 2 such scenes of trial are the Muthala pula (Crocodile river) near Anjengo and a tank attached to the Pagoda at Pallipport, 15 miles north of Cochin. In Africa men are believed to transmigrate after death into crocodiles and "Fetishmen" are credited with assuming the form of crocodiles to maim or kill their enemies. No such belief is current in South India, though there immense sanctity is attached to the crocodile. It is in Kerala however that crocodiles are fed and feted in tanks or rivers attached to certain temples. Any attempt to kill these sacred animals is believed to result in the cecility of the irreverent. Many cases of such men, usually

soldiers, are rumoured but on enquiry more often than not, retreat into tradition. In one case the delinquent is said to have regained his sight by offering a gold crocodile to the temple. Sanctity however is attached only to these special crocodiles, for those living free are hooked or netted and eaten with impunity by men usually belonging to castes like Nayadis, Kangjars and Ulladans. The flesh and particularly the bezoar (Gorosanam) found in the intestine are reckoned efficacious in cases of whooping cough. The sacred crocodiles are fed regularly by the priests. The sight of the Fakirs feeding them e. g. at Karachi is an impressive one. The chief places in Kerala where sacred crocodiles are kept may now be mentioned. At Pommala is a rock cut cave and a Hindu temple to which a tank is attached where a crocodile lives in royal but single state. Palliport has already been mentioned. Tripayar on the western bank of the Ponnani has a famous temple the property of which consists solely of crocodiles adorned with gold and other ornaments. It is a religious duty on the part of the pilgrims to feed them. Last year I am told one of the sacred brutes escaped from the temple precincts but was brought back with musical honors, headed by a procession of devotees. At Madai—the Railway station is known as Palayangadi—the temple has a pond where many young crocodiles and 1 or 2 large ones live. Their daily food is given by Pidarans the priests of the temple. Once a year when the grand annual festival of the Kavu is on, a huge metallic vessel full of rice cooked

in milk and sugar and other eatables is placed on the brink of the pond. The senior crocodile drags the vessel into the water and all of them partake of the offerings. The vessel was usually returned a day or two before the succeeding annual festival by a crocodile placing it on the edge of the pond. Some 4 years ago there was no sign of the vessel—my informant is sure some irreverent rogues forestalled the priest and stole it away and so the offerings are now given in large leaf-plaited baskets. \*

S. T. MOSES, M. A., F. Z. S.

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\* This paper was read before the section of Anthropology of the Thirteenth session of the Indian Science Congress held at Bombay in January 1926.

## II. DEVADĀSIS IN SOUTH INDIA : THEIR TRADITIONAL ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

*Devadāsis* :—According to old Sanskrit works there are seven classes of dāsis, namely, Datta or one who gives herself as a gift to a temple : 2 Vikrita or one who sells herself for the same purpose : 3 Bhritya or one who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family: 4 Bhakta or one who joins a temple out of devotion : 5 Hrita or one who is enticed away, and presented to a temple : 6 Alankara or one who is well trained in her profession and is profusely decked, and as such is presented to a temple by kings and noblemen.; 7 Rudraganika or Gopika who receive regular wages from a temple, and are employed to sing and dance.

It is about the last class of Dāsis that the following account is given. Dāsis or Devadāsis (handmaid of the gods) are dancing girls attached to the temples in the Tamil districts, and they live by dancing and music. This practice is of the oldest profession in the world. The origin of the community and its euphemistic name seem to date from about the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. during which many activities prevailed in South India in the matter of temple-building and elaborating the services held in them. Their duties at present are to fan the idol with *Chāmaras* (Tibetan ox tails), to carry the light called *kumbartī*, and to sing and dance before the god when he is carried in procession. In the South Indian Inscriptions vol. II, Part III, page 259,



it is found that the great temple of the Chola king Raja Raja of Tanjore had attached to it four hundred women of the temple, who lived in free quarters in the four streets round about it, and were allowed tax-free land out of the endowment. Other temples had similar arrangements. At the beginning of the last century there were a hundred dancing girls attached to the temple at Conjevaram who were kept for the honour of the deities and the amusement of the votaries. Any familiarity between these girls and an infidel would cause scandal. At Madura, Tanjore and Conjevaram there are now numbers of them who receive allowances from the endowments of the big temples at their places. In former times the profession was countenanced both by the church and the State. Dancing girls dedicated to the usual profession of the caste, are formally married in a temple to a sword or a god, the *tali* being tied round their necks by some men of their caste.

Devadāsīs are divided into two classes, namely those that belong to the right hand faction and those to the left hand. The chief distinction between them is that the former have nothing to do with the Kammalans (Artisan classes) or any other of the left-hand castes or play or sing in their houses. The latter division, on the other hand, is not so particular, and are sometimes called Kammala Dāsīs. Neither of the divisions is allowed to have any dealings with men of the lower castes, and the violation of this rule of

etiquette is tried by the panchāyat of the caste, and visited with excommunication.

Dāsis derive a profitable trade under sanction of religion, and some courtesans have been known to amass enormous fortunes. They do not consider it inconsistent with their methods of making money to spend it in works of charity. Here and there bridges and other works of public utility owe their existence to the liberality of this frail sisterhood. The large tank at Chennarayapatna in Mysore was built by two dancing girls.

Among the Dāsis sons and daughters inherit equally, and this is contray to Hindu usage. Some of their sons remain in the caste by playing music for the women to dance or to by teaching singing and dancing to the younger girls, and music to the boys. These are called Nāṭṭuvans. Others marry girls of the caste who are too plain to be likely of any success in the profession and drift out of the community. The daughters of the caste, who are brought up to follow the caste profession, are carefully taught dancing, singing and the art of dressing; and their success is largely due to the contrast which they thus present to the ordinary Hindu housewife.

Closely allied to the Devadāsis are the Bāsavis. In certain castes parents without male issue instead of adopting a son in the usual manner, dedicate a daughter by a simple ceremony to the god of some temple, and thenceforth by immemorial custom, she may inherit her parents' property, and

perform their funeral rites as if she is a son. She does not marry, but lives in her parents' house with any man of equal or of higher caste, whom she may select, and her children inherit her father's name and *bedagu* (sept) and not of their own father. Her son may inherit her property. Her daughter again becomes a Bāsavi.

Parents desiring male issue of their own, cure from sickness for themselves or their children or relief from similar calamity will similarly dedicate one of their daughters. The children of a Bāsavi are legitimate, and neither they nor their mother are treated as in any way inferior to their fellows. A Bāsavi can never become a widow and is always a welcome guest at weddings. Bāsavis differ from the dancing girls in their duties in temples. Those of the former are nominal, and they do not prostitute themselves promiscuously for hire. A Bāsavi invariably lives faithfully with one man who allows her a fixed sum weekly or monthly for her maintenance and a fixed quantity of new garments annually. They cannot be distinguished from other women. In some places there is a custom by which they are considered free to change their protectors once a year at the village car-festival or some other annual festival, when they seize the opportunity to test their partners' affection by suggesting that a new cloth and bodice would be a welcome present. According to Police reports many crimes are committed during Nagara-panchami time when those who keep prostitutes should pay their dues as otherwise they will have their new engagements.

In the Kurnul District of the Madras Presidency, where the Bāsavi system is in vogue, it differs from that in the Bellary district and Mysore. In these two districts the object of making a Bāsavi is to perpetuate a family when there is no male heir. In the event of there being only a girl in a family, the family becomes extinct if she is married to another man, because of the change of her sept thereby. To prevent this, she is dedicated as Bāsavi, and continues to be in her father's sept to which any male issue that is born to her belongs. In the Kurnul district the motive is different. The girl is not wedded to an idol, but on an auspicious day is tied by a garland of flowers to the Garuda Kambham (lamp) of a Baliya Dasrri. She is released either by the man who is to receive her first favours or by her maternal uncle. A simple feast is held, and a string of black beads tied round the girl's neck. She becomes a prostitute, and her children do not marry into respectable Boya families.

Bāsava women are sometimes married to a dagger and sometimes to an idol. In dedicating a female child to a temple, she is taken and dedicated to some idol. A dagger is placed on the ground, and the girl who is to undergo the ceremony puts a garland thereon. Her mother then puts rice on the girl's forehead. The officiating priest then weds the girl to the dagger, just as he was uniting her to a boy in marriage by the recital of marriage hymns, a curtain being held between the girl and the dagger. The initiation

ceremony of the Bāsavis of the Bellary district is as given below. A sword with lime stuck on its point is placed upright. It represents the bridegroom who in the corresponding ceremony of Hindu marriage sits on the bride's right side. A tray on which are a Kalasam (a vessel of water) and a lamp is then moved thrice in front of her. She rises and, carrying the sword in her right hand, places it in the God's sanctuary. Among the dancing girls very similar ceremonies are performed. With them the girl's spouse is represented by a drum instead of a sword and she bows to it. Her insignia consists of a drum and bells. Sometimes a *tali* on which is depicted a *nāmam* of Vishnu fastened to a necklace of black beads is tied round her neck. As a rule, *dāsīs* are recruited from the Vallala and Kaikolan castes; while the Bāsavis of the districts of Bellary, Kurnul and Kadappa as also of Mysore are generally from the Boyi, Holeya, Madiga and a few other castes. \*

L. K. ANANTHA KRISHA IYER, (*Rao Bahadur.*)

B. A., L. T., F. R. A. I.

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\* This paper was read before the Section of Anthropology of the Thirteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Bombay in January 1926.

### III. SNAKE-WORSHIP IN BENGAL.

Snake-worship is prevalent even at the present day among the Dravidian population of India. The Khāsias are well known for this serpent-worship. It is believed that there is a big serpent at Cherapunji in Assam. Every year the Khāsias offer human sacrifice to that serpent; and this must be of a man of the Khāsi tribe. It is very interesting to note that snake-worship prevails among the Hindu population of Bengal. The Hindus of Bengal even now pay homage to the serpent goddess *Manasā*. In many places, the goddess *Manasā* is worshipped after an image is made of clay, but in other places no image is to be found. An earthen pot sometimes takes the place of the image of the goddess *Manasā*.

In the present article we shall confine our remarks to the mode of worship of the goddess *Manasā* as we have noticed it in the Birbhum district of Bengal. In this district we have seen the image of the goddess *Manasā* worshipped. The goddess is placed in the middle and on two sides are the two attendants. The worship takes place in the month of Bhādra. Besides this annual worship, there is also the practice of daily worship of the goddess *Manasā*. For that purpose, the image of the goddess is kept in the house of the devotee, who offers daily *pūjā* to the goddess. In this case, the image of the goddess substantially differs from the image made once a year. Here, only the hoods of the snakes are represented

so that it may appear that there is a group of snakes. These representations of the snake are worshipped daily by the devotees. We had occasion to see two such representations in the district of Birbhum, one in the village of Surul and another on the bank of the river Ajaya. It is interesting to note that the worship of the goddess Manasā in this district is more or less confined to the low class people among the Hāris and Dōms, who consider the Manasā pūjā as one of their principal pūjās. The priests in these cases, strangely enough, are not Brāhmans, but men of low caste. In one instance we found that the priests of the goddess Manasā are fishermen. How is it that in the case of Manasā pūjā, the Brāhmans are deprived of their claim as priests? The reason may be this: the Manasā pūjā is essentially a festival of the low class people of Bengal. The songs relating to Manasā worship are essentially folk-songs of Bengal. These songs touch the very heart of the Bengali village folks who are familiar with the story of Chānd, Lakhindar and his wife Behulā. A vast literature has grown up on this story of Behulā and the songs of Manasā are sung by village folks even now. As the worship of Manasā is confined among the low class people and as the high castes of Bengal did not take any part in this folk-festival, the village-folks chose the priests not from among the Brāhmans, who were the priests of the high class people, but from among the lower class people. Thus, we find even fishermen doing the



work of priests in the worship of the goddess Manasā. In one temple of Manasā, we were told that Nabin Dhibara, a fisherman by caste was the priest. In this priest-ridden country, where Brāhmans are supreme, it is very strange how in some cases the priesthood has gone out of the hands of the Brāhmans. Not only in the case of Manasā worship, but also in the case of Dharma pūjā we find non-Brāhmans doing the work of priests. Many hold this Dharma pūjā to be a reminiscence of the worship of the lord Buddha. Hence the exclusion of Brāhmans from the priesthood in the worship of Dharma as prevalent in the Birbhum district. Again, in the case of *Vratas* as practised by Bengali ladies, the Brāhmans do not find any place. The elderly ladies take the place of the Brāhmans in telling the stories connected with various *vratas* and in conducting those ceremonies. In these cases, specially in the worship of the goddess Manasā the non-Brāhman priests are employed and the Brāhmans do not find any place of honour in these ceremonies. This fact of the employment of non-Brāhmans in certain festivals of Bengal should be carefully noted by students of anthropology. Bengal seems to be Hinduised and received the manners and customs of the Aryan people. For this reason we find the supremacy of the Brāhmanic priestly class in Bengal and in other parts of India. But before the Aryans came to Bengal, which was looked upon as a province of the outcastes by the superior Aryans, the province had been populated by the Dravidians, who left

certain marks of their own civilisation on the Hinduised population of Bengal. That is the reason why in Hindu Bengal at times institutions of non-Hindu origin peep out. Thus, the Manasā worship comes out as an institution which betrays its Dravidian origin. We know that the Dravidians even now continue their serpent worship. We also find a vast folk-literature in Bengal, which has grown out of this serpent-worship. The goddess Manasā is looked upon as the goddess of serpents. To worship Manasā is to propitiate the serpent-world. The Khāsis offer human sacrifice before their serpent-god in Cherapunji. The Hindus do not go so far, but offer animal sacrifice to the goddess Manasā. We are told that before the image of Manasā in a village on the bank of the Ajay, every year on the full-moon day of the month of Phalgun, no less than hundred goats are sacrificed. Curiously enough, the goddess Manasā in that village is also known as *Dulāler mā* or the mother of 'Dulal. We are unable to explain why Manasā is known by such a name. However, by such sacrifices the goddess Manasā and the serpent-world are satisfied by their worshippers. We conclude that this serpent-worship as it prevails in Bengal is a relic of the ancient Dravidian civilisation in this province.

Prof. PHANINDRA NATH BOSE, M. A.

#### IV. LAW OF JUBILEE.

In the year 1921 some cases cropped up, apparently referring to the Law of Jubilee, in the Bilaspur District of the Central Provinces where Hindu rule of the ancient Chedi dynasty lingered on till about the middle of the 18th. century. The capital of this dynasty was at Ratanpur, which is only 16 miles from Bilaspur, the present headquarters of that district. The Chaidyas, Kalachuris as they were otherwise called, held sway over the whole of Mahākosala, which roughly corresponds to the Chhattisgarh Division, now comprising the districts of Raipur, Bilaspur and Drug. The country was land-locked till very recently, with the result that it retained many old customs intact in several localities. One is the system of *lakhabata* or periodical distribution of village lands amongst the whole tenantry of a village. The origin of this custom has been attributed to the idea of securing all kinds of lands, good or bad, to each cultivator, so that each may enjoy equal advantages or disadvantages, which postulates equal rights of each cultivator in the village lands. Apparently this is a relic of the times when a republican form of government obtained, traces of which are still visible in the neighbouring states like Athmalik, where eight elected persons used to rule by turns and ample proof of which is afforded by Mr. Jayaswal's Hindu Polity, which throws a flood of light on the subject.

"It seems to have been a notion generally entertained in the ancient world that every citizen of a country should be a landholder and that the territory of a state should be divided into equal portions among the citizens. A division of land was accordingly made, and the portion assigned to each man became his inalienable property and descended in perpetuity to his heirs and successors. By the law of Jubilee all lands were restored free of encumbrances on the recurrence of the year of release so that, though a man's estate might in the interval have been repeatedly sold or alienated yet on the return of the fiftieth year it reverted to the heirs of the original possessor."

Animated by this idea, as if instinctively, a woman and her son belonging to the Gond tribe (found in almost all stages of primitive culture and comprising over two millions of people in the Central Provinces) endeavoured to regain possession of their lands, recorded in the name of a *mālguzar*, whose ancestors were given proprietary rights by the British Government in 1867 A. D. before which no *mālguzars* existed. Prior to this settlement the lands were held by the husband of this woman, who on the expiry of 50 years invoked the aid of Revenue officers and Civil Courts for the restoration of her property, but failing to get justice at their hands, she and her son took the law into their own hands and carried away the produce of those lands, belonging in ordinary law to the recorded *mālguzar* of that village. Thereupon they were criminally prosecuted for theft; they vehemently protested, asserting their rights over those lands

and their produce. Gonds are illiterate and wild. Of course they could not cite any written authority for their claims. But they seemed to have imbibed the notion of the inalienability of these lands and their final restoration, if alienated through some cause, from their ancestors, who practised the unwritten law. The Gond law has been always an unwritten law, and so the law of Jubilee, if it was the law of the aborigines could not be expected to be found in any code of laws. Of course in these days of Government by codified law a claim like the one set up by the wild Gonds could not be maintained. Nevertheless it raises an ethnological question of some importance. I have therefore ventured to bring the matter to the notice of the Anthropological section of the Science Congress in the hope that investigation in other parts of India may lead to the confirmation or otherwise of the existence of an agrarian law concealed in or revealed by the sporadic case just related. \*

HIRA LAL, B.A., M. R. A. S.  
(*Rai Bahadur*)

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\* Read at the Thirteenth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held at Bombay in January 1926.

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held its sittings at Lahore in January, 1927. A number of interesting papers were read in the Section of Anthropology, some of which are summarised below :—

1. *Presidential Address on "Anthropology and Administration"*.—By DR. J. H. HUTTON, M. A., D. SC., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Science and the state have not by any means always worked hand in hand, and there is a tendency, not entirely unjustified, on the part of administrators to distrust science and more particularly its professors. Administrators have, however, hitherto relied on a body of knowledge and accumulated experience which is in some respects erroneous, and they have much to learn from anthropology. The same applies to missionaries who seek to gain converts to a new religion, and to a new culture, which they regard as superior, without reference to environment. It can however be shown that attempts to improve the less cultured races have often been just as inimical to their welfare as deliberate hostility and destruction. Sudden and sweeping change is particularly harmful, and civilisation is to be regarded as a dangerous drug only to be administered in small doses and under vigilant control. It is the duty of Anthropology to guide and control the change from primitive to civilised conditions

In point of immediate practice a knowledge of

anthropology gives, or should give, to administrators a common point of view which they can share with the uncultured and which is practically unattainable to the cultured without some anthropological knowledge; it should give a more complete insight into and appreciation of unfamiliar customs and beliefs and thereby facilitate humane and efficient administration; in particular it should forewarn, and therefore forearm, administration against the evils commonly produced by what is known as culture contact. These evils are known to be very serious, and often result in the decimation or degradation of primitive tribes, even though the changes producing them are introduced with the very best intentions.

The evil results of culture contact are both moral and physical, and, though some of them are perhaps inevitable, much may be avoided. In this connection the condition of the Naga tribes of Assam affords an opportunity of comparing populations long administered and recently administered with one another and with kindred tribes which have never been administered at all.

The most important problem of all these presented to anthropology is the control of contact between the civilised and the uncultured so as to allow of accommodation to new conditions; and all sudden and sweeping changes. e. g. the recent spectacular redemption of slaves in the Hukong valley—are dangerous. Special legislation is needed for the control of intercourse between backward tracts and the outside world, and it is suggested



that anthropology ought to be made a compulsory subject for competitive examinations in all public services.

The point of view put forward is comparatively new, and it is at variance with political and philanthropic tradition. It will therefore prove unwelcome to the majority, but it is the duty of anthropologists to keep pressing it, in order that attention may be given to it before it is too late.

2. "*The Bull-Roarer in India*".—BY RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

The author began by regretting that no survey has yet been made of the different forms of Bull-roarers that may still be found in India, and their past and present uses. There is only one specimen of the Bull-roarer in the Indian museum, said to have come from the Chittagong District, but neither the exact place of find nor the use made of it has been recorded. No specimen of the Bull-roarer is to be seen in any Provincial or State Museum in India except the Patna Museum to which the author has presented a few specimens of the instrument collected by him. The author has made investigations regarding the Bull-roarer in his own Province of Bihar and Orissa where he has so far found the now sporadic use of the Bull-roarer among four aboriginal tribes, namely, the Hos of the Singbhum District, the Santals of the Singbhum and Monghyr Districts, and the Mūṇḍās and the Oraons of the Ranchi District. These Indian Bull-roarers are not all provided, as in

other countries, with holes for the insertion of a string. The Santal Bull-roarer that the author discovered in a village in the Monghyr District in Bihar is not perforated but notched to form a neck for tying the string on. Munḍā boys have been found using Bull-roarers of both varieties, notched as well perforated.

The Chittagong specimen in the Indian Museum is also notched and not perforated. As for the Mūṇḍās, the Hōs and the Santāls, the use of the Bull-roarer occurs only in a very few villages amongst them, and that too merely as children's toys. It is only among the Orāons that traces of the ceremonial or magico-religious use of the Bull-roarer still prevails. Hundreds of thin slats of bamboo threaded in strings are to be seen hanging in rows from the beams of some of the Orāon Bachelors' dormitories, where it is a sin for women to enter. In some dormitories, the author found perforated Bull-roarers made of valves of *Semar*-pods. Although the sacred mystery of the Bull-roarer is no longer remembered by the Orāon nor preserved in his folklore, the author showed that the associations in which the Bull-roarer occurs among the Orāons and certain practices still connected with the Orāon Bull-roares, leave no reasonable doubt of the magical and religious significance of the Bull-roarer for the tribe though such significance is much attenuated now from what it was in former times. The author incidentally described some highly interesting secret practices connected with the Orāon *Dhumkurīās* or Bachelors' Halls.

3. *On a peculiar fishing implement from the Kangra Valley.*—BY DR. S. L. HORA.

During the recent tour (May-June,) to the Kangra Valley the author noticed an interesting type of fishing implement, locally known as *Kalerni*. The implement consists of three pieces of hemptwine knotted together and a number of horse-hair nooses tied to the central piece, the two end pieces of twine being knotted so as to form running nooses.

The *Kalerni* is modelled after similar devices used for snaring birds all over India, Burma and the adjacent countries. It is used in very rapid waters of our shallow and rocky streams for catching small fishes of the genera *Garra*, *Glyptothorax*, *Nemachilus*, etc.

In using this ingenious device advantage is taken of the habits of the hill-stream fishes, which are either migratory or are provided with suckers and frictional devices for sticking to rocks and stones in swift currents.

4. *"Some objects of Anthropology".*—BY J. P. MILLS, M. A., I. C. S.

The value of Anthropology is often doubted. We must be able to answer our critics. Anthropology arises from the natural desire of human beings to study themselves. The scope of each of its main divisions—Physical, Psychological, Archaeological and Social—is outlined. Each is linked with other branches of knowledge, and Anthropology is shown to concern itself with all the sciences as they converge on man. This is one of its

most valuable characteristics. Critics who scorn all knowledge which has no immediate utilitarian value are wrong. All knowledge is valuable, and Anthropology is especially valuable now. The culture contact of ancient times has become a world-wide culture clash. Primitive races are being irreparably harmed not only by the trader but by the would-be reformer. The ruthless sweeping away of ancient culture is harmful. The deliberate efforts of American Protestant Missions to impose a uniform culture everywhere are revealed by their own writings. In a few places imported culture is still resisted, but this cannot last for ever. Anthropologists have a great work before them in guiding and easing the inevitable culture clash.

5. *Polyandry in the Mahābhārata.*—By H. C. DAS-GUPTA, Calcutta.

The polyandrous form of marriage between the Paṇḍava brothers and Draupadi is a very important episode in the great epic of Mahābhārata. The generally accepted view regarding the marriage is that it was purely accidental. The matter is thoroughly discussed and reasons are given for maintaining that the marriage was a deliberate one and not accidental.

6. *Untouchables among animals and plants.*—By RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, Jubbulpur.

A Hindu extends his idea of caste to animals and plants also and assigns untouchability to some of them as he does in the case of certain Sudras. Illustrations from the Central Provinces are quoted and further ones from other provinces invited.

7. *On the cult of Gorakshanātha in the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal.*—BY S. C. MITRA, Calcutta.

In this paper Prof. Mitra has shown that the godling Gorakshanātha is a deification of the famous ascetic of that name, who was born at Gorakhpur in U. P., and that this deity's reputation as guardian-spirit of milch-cattle has been derived from the fact that his antetype Gorakshanātha of Gorakhpur was the son of a pious cowherd and, as such, must have had great affection for the welfare of cattle in general.

Mr. Mitra has further shown that this godling is worshipped in the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal. Whenever cattle fall ill, the owners thereof set up a *ghaṭa* or earthen pitcher to represent his deityship and worship him by the recitation of *mantras* or prayer-formulæ and by the presentation to his deityship of food offerings. Sometimes no *ghaṭa* is set up to represent his deityship nor is any other kind of image made of him. The worshippers simply contemplate the deity and present to him an offering of thickened milk or of balls made of clotted cream, as milk is the most valuable product of the cow, whose welfare is looked after by his deityship. Mr. Mitra thinks that in this district the cult of Gorakshanātha has degenerated into an Animistic or Fetish worship.

Mr. Mitra further thinks that in former times there was, and there is even at the present day considerable intercourse between the people of the

United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and those of Northern Bengal by way of North Bihar, Purnea and Malda and that immigrants from the U. P. must have introduced the cult of Gorakshanātha into Rangpur.

*s. A Rangpuri Superstition.*—By S. C. MITRA, Calcutta.

In the District of Rangpur in Northern Bengal, a superstition prevails to the effect that *bamboos should not be cut on Sundays*. In the paper, Mr. Mitra has shown that, in that district, as also in the adjoining district of Dinajpur, bamboos are worshipped once every year, specially during the spring season. They are worshipped as symbols of the animistic godling *madanakama*, which presides over generation. He further thinks that Sundays must have been specially consecrated to the worship of this godling. From this has arisen the prohibition against the cutting on Sundays of the sacred bamboo, which is the symbol of that deity. In the remotest times Rangpur and Dinajpur must have been covered with primeval tree-forests and bamboo-groves and the aboriginal, Rajabanshis, who dwelt therein, believed those trees and bamboos to be the dwelling-places of a ghostly crew of unseen and incorporeal beings, whom we now call animistic deities. These animistic deities were believed to be capable of doing good or harm to them. It is for this reason that the aboriginal Rajabanshis worshipped the bamboos or, in other words, 'propitiated the animistic spirits dwelling in the bamboos with the presentation of offerings,

9. *Note on the use of Ferns as an article of food in the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal.*—By S. C. MITRA, Calcutta.

In this paper Mr. Mitra states that the lower classes of the people of the district of Rangpur, in Northern Bengal, partake of the tender leaves of many kinds of plants in their curries. The leaves of the jute-plant are much used for this purpose. A paste made of the leaves of the jute-plant is made into an eatable which is called the *pelka*. The most curious leaf which is partaken of by the people of Rangpur is the frond of the 'Edible Fern' (*Asplenium Esculentum*) as a pot-herb. It is noteworthy that several members of the genus *Asplenium* grow in England but are not eaten by the lower classes of the English people.

10. *Note on the legends about the origin of the place-name Rangpur.*—By S. C. MITRA, Calcutta.

In this paper Mr. S. C. Mitra discusses the three legends, which are usually narrated about the origin of the place-name Rangpur in Northern Bengal. The first of these legends sets forth that this name has been derived from the fact that Bhagadatta, Rājā of Kāmrup, had a palace of pleasure or *Ranga-pura* at the locality where the modern town of Rangpur stands. But no traces of this palace are to be seen at the present day. Nor is the name Rangpur to be found in the *Mahā-bhārata* or in any other work of Sanskrit literature, nor in Blaeu's Map of the Moghul Empire (published in 1645 A. D.), nor in any Muhammadan history-book earlier than the "*Riyazu-a-Salatun*,"



which was published about the end of the 18th century A. D. The name Rangpur appears for the first time in this last-mentioned work. Mr. Mitra therefore rejects this legend as totally unworthy of credence. He has also rejects, on the ground of its being a childish and silly fabrication, the second legend which sets forth that the name has been derived from the fact that a Raja of Rangpur, when requested by the Raja of Benares to give a description of the former's country, gave a jocular description (*Ranga* or jest) of it.

The third legend or tradition is to the effect that this place-name has been derived from the dyeing industry of the district, as the word "*Rang*" means dye or colour. Mr. Mitra thinks that this legend is a near approximation to the truth and suggests that this place-name is very likely a contraction of the Persian word "*Rangrezpur*" or the place of abode of the dyers, with which the officers of the Moghul Government must have dubbed the place.

11. *A Satya Pir legend in Santali guise.*—  
By S. C. MITRA, Calcutta.

In this paper Prof. Mitra deals with and discusses two legends about the Mussalmān saint *Satya Pēr*, and an analogous Santali folktale, of which the story-radical has been formulated by him as follows:—

- (1) Two or more persons, all of whom were married, had a youngest brother who was unmarried.
- (2) The wives of the elder brothers were all witches

and bore a grudge against their youngest brother-in-law. In order to feed fat their grudge they administered a magic potion to the latter or cast spell upon him. By drinking the potion or under the influence of the spell he was changed into a bird or a dog. (3) By the blessing of the supernatural being he married a princess, who was able to remove the evil influence of the charms and to restore her husband, who was disguised under the form of a bird or a dog, into his former human shape. (4) Subsequently the youngest brother informed his elder brothers of the fact that their wives were witches and had, by means of their enchantments, changed him into a bird or a dog. On hearing this, they were exceedingly angry with their wives, whom they subsequently killed by way of punishment.

As the foregoing story-radical does not come within the category of the *seventy* (70) *Types* of Folktales studied and classified by the Folk Lore Society of London. Mr. Mitra is of opinion that it is an altogether new one. He has therefore named it "*The Bewitched Youngest Brother Type.*"

Then as regards the question as to how the *Satya Pēr Legend* found its way among the santals, Mr. Mitra thinks that as Western Bengal is conterminous with the Santal Parganas, which is the home of the Pre-Dravidian Santals, the Santals borrowed the legend from the Bengalis and assimilated it as their own, making sundry [changes to suit their local conditions.

12 *Further note on human sacrifice among the santals.*— BY S. C. MITRA, Calcutta.

In a previous paper, Mr. S. C. Mitra showed that formerly the Santals used to offer human sacrifices to (i) *Water-deities* and (ii) to *Earth-deities*. In the former case, whenever a tank was dug, and no water came out of it, the Santals ascribe the non-appearance of water to the wrath of the offended water-deity. They, therefore, propitiated him by drowning a human victim in the tank. They further believed that this sacrifice resulted in the tank. In the second case, they used to kill a human victim and bury his corpse in the earth under the belief that the offended Earth-deity would be propitiated thereby and would confer good luck upon the offer of the sacrifice. In the present paper Mr. Mitra has further shown that they also used to offer human sacrifices to (iii) another class of supernatural beings or spirits whom they called "*Bongas*."

13 *Note on a recent instance of Self-Immolation for propitiating a god.* By S. C. MITRA, Calcutta

In this paper Mr. S. C. Mitra describes and discusses a case of *self-immolation* for propitiating the god Siva, which occurred on the 26th August, 1926, in the famous temple of the aforementioned deity in a village named Chitora, Police-station Purulia, in Chota-Nagpur. In this case a Maghaya Brahmin who was suffering from some distressing ailment, gave "*Dharna*" for several days together before the said deity in the hope that his deityship would either appear before him in a vision or furnish him with some medicine for the cure of his malady. But the god did neither of these things. He, therefore, cut his own throat on the *Siva-Lingam* at dead of night.

Mr. Mitra thinks that this was a case of self-immolation committed by the patient under the belief that the deity had been exceedingly angry with him and that he required to be propitiated by the presentation to him of a very valuable offering. As life is God's most valuable gift to man, he sought to propitiate his offended deityship by offering him his own life. \*

14. *The Indian folk-belief about the Corpse's eating the Winding-Sheet in which it is swathed.*—  
By S. C. MITRA, Calcutta.

In this paper Mr. Mitra describes and discusses the origin of the under-mentioned folk-belief, which, in a more or less modified form is prevalent in Bengal, North Bihar, and the Bombay Presidency:—

Whenever an epidemic rages at its highest, the corpse of one of the persons who have fallen victim to it is swathed in a winding-sheet and, instead of being cremated, is buried in the earth in a standing position. This burial of a Hindu victim of the epidemic is popularly believed to put a stop to the fell disease which may be raging. If it is not stamped out or does not abate in the least, the people dig up the buried corpse and see whether it has *eaten* or *chewed* the winding-sheet in which it has been swathed up. If it is found to have done so, it is looked upon as a bad omen, as it portends the further spread of the epidemic. In any case, the people cremate the disinterred corpse in the belief that it will put a stop to the epidemic altogether.

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\* Most people would perhaps ascribe this suicide to disappointment and disgust with a miserable life. —Ed.

Mr. S. C. Mitra further says that as the uncultured folk's belief is that all diseases are caused by the entry into the human body of Disease-demons, they have accordingly hit upon two methods of curing the ills that human flesh is heir to, namely, that of flogging out the Disease-demon from the patient's body, and that of putting a stop to epidemics and other outbreaks of diseases by burying the corpse of a deceased person into whose body the Demon had entered. He further thinks that the second expedient or remedy which has been devised by the uncultured folk, is that epidemics and other outbreaks of diseases can be stopped by the interment in the earth of the corpse of a person into whose body the Disease-demon has entered and who has therefore died of the ailment. This, he says, is the root cause of the aforementioned folk-belief which is prevalent in North Bihar, Bengal and the Bombay Presidency.

*15 Notes on three Bengali women's charms for stopping storms. — BY S. C. MITRA, Calcutta.*

In this paper Mr. S. C. Mitra describes and discusses the origin of three charms which are used by the womenfolk of Eastern Bengal for the purpose of stopping storms. In the first of these charms, the Storm Demon is sought to be expelled by telling him not to touch, that is to say, to blow upon a hut or a room as in it 'the wife of his sister's son is staying'. The origin of this charm is based upon the well-known taboo, widely prevalent throughout Bengal, which prohibits a woman to touch the body of the brother of her

mother-in-law and forbids the latter even to step upon the former's shadow.

In the second charm, the womenfolk invoke the names of Divinities and semi-Divine personages under the belief that they would thereby compel the latter to put in an appearance and, by the exercise of their Divine power, to expel the Storm-Demon.

Sometimes the womenfolk hurl invectives at the Storm-Demon under the belief that the magical efficacy, which is ascribed by peoples on a low plane of culture to the *spoken word*, would cause the Storm-Demon to beat a hasty retreat.

In the third charm, the Bengali womenfolk place in the courtyard wooden plank-seats *upside down* under the belief that, if this is done, the storm would pass away. This, the writer thinks, is an instance of the rite whereby luck may be changed and the ordinary course of events altered by reversing the natural order of things.

16 *The Poo-Nonbu in Kongu Nad.* — BY P. M. SOMASUNDARAM, Bangalore.

This paper gives an account of a festival observed by virgins among the cultivating classes of the Coimbatore District, South India, together with a translation of the folk-song sung on the occasion.

17 *Some popular beliefs in the lunar periodicity in animals and plants.* — BY P. M. SOMASUNDARAM, Bangalore.

This paper enumerates some notions prevailing in South India, regarding a supposed connection between the growth, etc., of some animals and plants and the cycle of the moon.

18 *Nāgā medicine.* — By H. G. DENNEHY, Assam.

The Nāgās have four distinguishable methods of treating disease, viz. (1) Propitiation, (2) Exorcism, (3) Cure by certain food stuffs, (4) Surgery. Their surgical methods are crude, and in (3) no clear distinction is drawn between foods that have genuine medicinal qualities and those which are purely magical in their effect. The Nāgā *materia medica* includes a number of unquestionably sound prescriptions, but it is difficult to say whether they have been reached deductively or empirically.

19 *The Kani (opium) Puja of the Mikirs of Assam.* — By H. G. DENNEHY, Assam.

The *Kani puja* of the Mikirs is a sacrificial ceremony, at which opium is burnt with a view to obtaining from the smoke omens as to the prosperity of the coming agricultural year.

20 *The frog marriage in Assam.* — By T. C. SAIKIA, Madras.

This ceremony originated in legends regarding Indra, the God of Heaven; and is celebrated as a rite to cause rain to fall.

21 *Palæolithic evolution in India.* — L. A. CAMMIADE, Madras.

The author brings forward some evidence to show that there exists in India a series of palæolithic cultures that, broadly speaking, follow the same line of evolution as the European palæolithic cultures: Chellean, Acheulean, Mousterian, Magdalenian, Caspian and Tardenoisian.



22 *A comparative study of the human crania excavated at Adittanallur.* BY Dr. BIRAJASANKAR GUHA, Calcutta.

A detailed study is made in this paper of the dozen more or less well-preserved crania excavated by Mr. Rea at the 'prehistoric' burial site at Adittanallur in the Tinnevely district in Madras and their comparison with the Bayana and Sialkot crania of Northern India and the the Veddah crania of Ceylon; and some conclusions are drawn regarding the early population of India.

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for December, 1926, Dr. J. H. Hutton contributes an article on *Naga Chank Ornaments of South Indian Affinities*. In this article, the author describes certain conch-shell ornaments (beads, ear-ornaments, neck ornaments &c) in use among the Naga tribes of Assam which have a marked resemblance with certain chank-shell objects found in some Iron Age graves of the dolmen type at Odugattur in the North Arcot District in South India. He also notes that although the Nagas do not now-a-days generally build dolmens and the usual Angami grave is a stone-lined or wood-lined pit with a cairn super-imposed, yet dolmens do occur in the Naga Hills district and some Konyak Nagas still use little dolmens to cover the pots containing the skulls of their dead. He further notes that certain polished stone celts from Vellore in North Arcot (i.e. from the neighbourhood of Odugattur described in J. A. S. B., for 1879), are identical in type with a type occurring in the hills (though not the prevailing type there). Again, a type of circular stone platform described by Fergusson as occurring in deserted sites in the Madras hills in conjunction with abandoned terraces is identical with the round form of the Angami cenotaph known as the *baze* (which is curiously enough similar to a form of grave known by a similar name—*Bazina*, in North Africa). From all this the author suggests that it is likely that "the

Nagas contain an element which has migrated from Southern India across the Bay of Bengal and thence drifted north-westwards across Burma,—a hypothesis which would, according to one view of the origins of the Karens (*vide Man in India*, for June, 1924, p. 12 sp.), associate this element in the Naga tribes with the Karens of Burma.

In the January (1927) number of *Man*, Mr. H. C. Beasley illustrates and describes a crystal mask from Tibet representing the goddess Palden Lhamo, one of the Eight Terribles, who is said to reappear in Hindu mythology as Kali and in Japan as Mitsume. The body of the mask is worked from a lump of rock crystal, the features being applied in gilt bronze; she has a third eye in her forehead, the teeth are probably human whilst the eyes are of ivory. She holds in her left hand a string of skulls and a club. She feeds on corpses presented to her by the goblins that haunt graveyards. Her scanty garment consists of a girdle made from the skin of a recently flayed man. She is usually seated on a chestnut mule, whose girth and crupper are living snakes, and who tramples under foot the mangled remains of human bodies. She is often shown drinking blood from a human skull.

In the same number of *Man*, Mr. G. D. Walker, I. C. S., illustrates and describes the Garo method of manufacturing bark cloth or rather blanket. The material is called *simphak*, the bark is *amphak*, and the tree chiefly used is *phakram*. The making and use of the *simphak* is confined

to the Matchi and Chisak tribes of Garos, inhabiting the eastern half of the district.

In the January (1927) number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Mr. O. C. Ganguly, describes *The Cult of Agastya and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art*. The writer shows from the evidence of ancient Sanskrit works and of iconography and inscriptions how the ancient Indian sage Agastya, the moving genius of Indian colonization and the great preacher of the Shaiva religion, built up the culture of "Greater India" which included Cambodia, Siam, Malay Archipelago, Borneo, Java, and the Sunda Islands. This "Aryanizer of the Drāvīda Desa" (Southern India) was thus also "the Great Builder of a Greater India beyond the seas" and soon came to be regarded as the object of personal worship in which his image receives worship not only in India, but even outside India. The author adduces reasons to maintain that the 'Shivaguru' or 'Bhattara Guru' of Java to whom the highest rank is given in the Indo-Javanese hierarchy of gods is none other than the Hindu sage Agastya. The appellation 'Shiva guru', the author maintains, does not apply to Shiva himself but is given to Agastya as he was the great preacher ('Guru') of the Shaiva cult.

The same number of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, contains two studies in *Bird-Myths* by Mr. S. C. Mitra.

In the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for Nov. 1926, Prof. Sten Konow describes an *European Parallet* to the

*Durga Puja.* He adduces reasons to think that the Germanic worship of Nerthus, on the one hand, and that of the Indian Kali on the other are derived from one and the same source which must have taken rise in the Indo-European period, "The goddess Kali had, no doubt, in the course of time, assimilated many local deities, partly of non-Aryan origin, but she still retains traces of being an Indo-European goddess, who was, to all appearances, thought to manifest herself in her quality as the life-giving mother, in Earth, and who was worshipped with processions and ceremonial baths. She stood for the idea of motherhood, for the eternal force which produces progeny, trees, plants and crops, the ideal of fertility and generation, and she was coupled with a male duplicate".

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September, 1926, S. C. Roy contributes an article on the *Marriage Customs of the Oraons*, and Mr. Satindra Narayan Ray contributes two notes one on *Nagas and their Worship* and another on *The Saraks of the Majurbhanj State*. Prof. K. P. Mitra contributes note on *Mustard in Magic and Religion*. \*

In the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, for the year 1926, there are eight articles of which five, namely, *Exorcism of spirits in India*, *The Baby Language among the Parsis*, *The Antiquity of the custom of Sati*, *The Root-idea at the Bottom of Nudity spells*, and *An American Tribe and its Buffalo and an Asiatic tribe and its Fish* are from the pen of Dr. J. J. Modi. Rao Sahab Dr. V. P. Chavan narrates a few *Konani Folk Tales*.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**The Life after Death in Oceania and the Malay Archipelago.**—By *Rosalind Moss, B. Sc. (Oxon)* (*Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford. 1925*). PP. 247. Price 14 S.

Students of Ethnology will accord a hearty welcome to this careful and valuable regional study of the belief in an afterworld and the various rites and customs associated with or arising out of such a belief. As the talented author says, she has not started with any particular theory, and with regard to facts, collection rather than selection has been her method. She has mostly drawn upon first-hand accounts, of which the region she has wisely selected for treatment is fortunate in possessing a rich store, through the valuable researches of scholars—notably of the late Dr. Rivers. As a result of her enquiry, Miss Moss finds that the simpler types of funeral ritual have been influenced chiefly by psychology and topography, developing and attaining a special form through historical events or local circumstances, mutual borrowings and convergences. They then tend to become crystallized by custom and tradition and are subsequently modified or elaborated by artificial selection (e. g. cupidity of relations or priests, or social conditions). The beliefs are specially liable to be affected by historical occurrences such as migration or racial admixture passing over into eschatological myth, and by

culture-contact on the form of stories and legends, while ritual is more stable owing to the conservative tendencies of tradition. In the earliest stage there is little connexion between ritual and belief, as is seen among nomadic hunting tribes who think little about the subject, and have a vague type of after-world in no way connected with their simple burial forms such as tree-exposure with little or no ceremony. "When burial-forms begin to be stereotyped by tradition, they tend to influence beliefs about the locality, nature, or accessibility of the after-world, because their original purpose is forgotten (especially in the case of ritual details due to migration), and eschatological explanations are sought. In a later stage such belief reacts upon ritual, though chiefly as regards details, unless under the deliberate guidance of priests and medicine-men".

The author wisely refrains from making bold generalizations regarding the migrations of the various peoples who may have successively contributed to the institutions and ideas of the region dealt with. She cautiously suggests "certain major migrations that might account for the present distribution of culture in a general way". The book is supplied with an exhaustive Bibliography and excellent Index.

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**The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins:—***By V. Gordon Childe, B. Litt. (Oxon).* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1926). PP. XIII+221. Price 10 s. 6 d. net.

This book forms one of the 'Pre-History and Antiquity' section of that excellent 'History of Civilization' series so ably edited by Prof. Ogden, and so suitably and exquisitely brought out by the leading firm of Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. The series has been rightly claimed to be one of the most ambitious adventures in the annals of book-publishing, and rightly described as "promising to be the most important contribution so far undertaken towards the task of organization and systematization of the social studies". It is a pity that this invaluable series of books have not yet attracted in India the attention it deserves.

The volume under review presents the reader with an illuminating survey of the existing evidence, including the results of latest research, regarding the Aryan question. It was high time that such an up-to-date survey should be published, for we have had no exhaustive discussion of the problem in the English language for the last quarter of a century.

The recent archaeological discoveries at Mahenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus valley in India of an entirely new culture going back to a chalcolithic epoch make the publication of Mr. Gordon Childe's illuminating study of Indo-European origins particularly opportune and doubly welcome to Indian students.

The book consists of nine chapters, headed respectively as follows: Ch. I. Language and Prehistory; II. The First Appearance of the Aryans on the stage of History; III. The Aryanization of the Mediterranean; IV. Primitive Aryan Culture reconstructed by Linguistic Palæontology; V. The Case for an Asiatic Cradle of the Aryans; VI. Did the Aryans Originate in Central Europe? VII. The Theory of a North European cradle; VIII. The Aryans in South Russia; IX. The Role of the Aryans in History.

The existing evidence, archæological and philological, has been marshalled with great care and skill, and, as a result of his analysis, our author comes to the conclusion that the first Aryans were of Nordic stock, whose physical qualities enabled them by the bare fact of superior strength to conquer areas from which their bodily type has almost completely vanished. Although the Aryans appear everywhere as promoters of true progress they did not achieve this through the superiority either of their physical strength or material culture. In fact, "the lasting gift bequeathed by the Aryan to the conquered peoples", says Mr. Gordon Childe, "was neither a higher material culture nor a superior physique, but — a more excellent language and the mentality it generated". As to the extent of the Aryan cradle, our author concludes, "The great majority of Aryan nations of historical times can be shown to be descended from the Nordic battle-axe folk of the Stone Age. By the aid of pottery and weapons they can be traced back with more or less certainty to one

of two centres—South Russia or Scandinavia". The author leaves it to future enquirers to determine which of these two regions really has the priority. Provisional though the author's conclusions are, they would appear advance our knowledge of the subject a step further.

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**Our Early Ancestors : An Introductory Study of Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age Cultures in Europe and Adjacent Regions.—***By M. C. Burkitt, M. A., F. S. A., F. G. S. (Cambridge: University Press, 1926). PP. XII+243. Price 7 s. 6 d.*

This is a valuable contribution to the study of European pre-history. The cultures of the Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Copper (Eneolithic or Chalcolithic) Ages are selected for treatment in this book. As a background, a brief picture of the Upper Palæolithic folk of Europe who preceded the Mesolithic culture is given in the Introductory Chapter, and a short chapter on the Bronze Age cultures that followed the Copper Age culture is given in the last but one chapter of the book. The last chapter contains an account of the Art of the period dealt with in the volume.

The learned author's earlier and bigger volume on Pre-history has rightly taken its place among the best works on the subject, and has reached a second edition within a short time of its publication. The present volume worthily maintains

the reputation that the earlier volume has earned for him. Details about the cultures of the Mesolithic, Neolithic and earliest Metal Ages hitherto remained scattered in various books and periodicals, and students have long felt the need of a book like the present; and Mr. Burkitt has earned their grateful thanks for having supplied it. The only desideratum in the book to which the critic may point is the absence of any provisional dates for the various divisions and sub-divisions of human pre-history dealt with in the book. True, such dating must necessarily be more or less approximate and may have to be substantially revised in the light of future research. But still it cannot be denied that such approximate dating as the existing geological or other evidence may warrant, is likely to prove helpful to the student, and requires to be made in order to facilitate further inquiry and research.

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**Ritual and Belief in Morocco.**—By *Edward Westermarck, Ph. D., LL. D.* Two volumes (Macmillan 1926). Price 50 s. net.

This excellent work is the result of laborious first-hand research carried on for a total period of seven years among the natives of Morocco. The author was exceptionally well equipped for his work not only by his ripe scholarship and previous theoretical work but by his mastery of the two principal languages of the people of Morocco.

The author has utilised his opportunities to the full and collected, collated and systematised a vast wealth of details about ritual and belief in Morocco with a care and devotion that must be the ambition of all field-workers in anthropology. In the Introductory Chapter, the author briefly refers to the different groups of Berber-speaking and Arab-speaking peoples in Morocco and their respective dialects, &c, the various influences from other quarters to which the culture of the Berbers, the bulk of whom belong to the Mediterranean race, has been subject. Thus we see how the religious ideas of the people of Morocco have been necessarily derived from various sources. As for the difference between religion and magic, Dr. Westermarck, after reviewing the leading theories, sums up his own views as follows: "Religion is a belief in and a regardful attitude towards a supernatural being, on whom man feels himself dependant, and to whose will he makes an appeal in his worship. In magic, on the other hand, he utilises supernatural energy without making any such appeal at all. In religion he attempts to influence supernatural agents by natural means, such as prayers, offerings, and so forth; in magic he attempts to influence either natural or supernatural objects or persons by supernatural means, which act mechanically". The author takes care to add that this definition of religion is not the complete definition and has reference only to religion in the abstract, and that a religion may include many practices that would come within the above definition of magic. The author rightly concludes the chapter with the

remark, "After all, sociologists may more profitably occupy their time than by continuously quarrelling about the meaning of terms." In the next three chapters, Dr. Westermarck gives an exhaustive account of *baraka* (holiness), a mysterious wonder-working force which is regarded as a blessing from God or a "blessed virtue", somewhat similar to the Melanesian *mana*. The three following chapters deal with the Jnun or jinn (a race of beings created before man and living underground), their nature and doings, and prophylactic measures adopted against them and remedies adopted for troubles caused by them, and the origin of beliefs and practices relating to them. Chapter VII deals with *Individual spirits*, chapter VIII with *The Evil Eye*, Chapter IX with *Curses and oaths*, Chapter X with the 'Ar' and the 'Ahd', Chapter XI deals with *Witch-craft, Homoeopathic Influences and Practices*, and *The Transference of Evil*, Chapter XII with *Various Magical Influences and Omens, and Dreams*, Chapters XIII and XIV with *Rites and Beliefs connected with the Muhammadan Calendar*, Chapter XV with *Rites and Beliefs connected with certain dates of the solar year*, Chapter XVI with *Rites and Beliefs connected with Agriculture*, Chapter XVII with *Rites practised for the purpose of influencing the Weather*, Chapter XVIII with *Beliefs and Customs relating to Animals*, Chapter XIX with *Rites connected with Childbirth and Early Childhood*, Chapters XX and XXI with *Rites and Beliefs connected with Death*. The book will long remain the standard work on the popular religion of Morocco.

**A History of Assam.**—By Sir Edward Gait, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S. (retired). Second Edition (Calcutta and Simla : Thacker Spink & Co. 1926). PP, XIV+388. Price Rs. 15.

Students of Indian History and Ethnology will cordially welcome the present revised edition of this standard work on Assam and its people and their History. The present book is practically the only authoritative book on the subject and the present edition has been brought up to date by incorporating the results of latest research. The book is divided into eighteen chapters headed as follows : I. Prehistoric and Traditional Rules, II. From the 7th to the 12th centuries, III. Events of 13th to 15th centuries, IV. The Koch Kings, V. Rise of the Ahom kingdom, VI. Period of Muhammadan Wars, VII. The Climateric of Ahom Rule, VIII. The Decay and Fall of the Ahom IX. The Ahom system of Government, X. The Kacharis, XI. The Jaintia Kings, XII. Manipur, XIII. Sylhet, XIV. The Burmese War, XV. Consolidation of British Rule, XVI. Summary of British Relations with the Hill Tribes, XVII. Important Events of Recent Times, XVIII. Growth of the Tea Industry. Five appendices and an exhaustive index complete the volume. Assam is one of the greatest centres of primitive tribes in India, and, as such, a living museum for the study of the ethnologist ; and a study of the history of the country and its people should form an indispensable preliminary to the study of its ethnology. If the



present book is bound to be a valuable aid to the student of Indian Ethnology, it is invaluable to the student of Indian History in general, and indispensable to the administrator of Assam.

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**Lectures on Ethnography.**—By Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, B. A., L. T., F. R. A. I. (University of Calcutta, 1925). PP. XIV+II+277. With 32 Illustrations.

The author is well-known to students of Indian Ethnology by his excellent work on the *Cochin Castes and Tribes*. A course of Readership Lectures delivered by the author, in 1920, in the University of Calcutta have been re-arranged and published in this volume in ten chapters headed as follows: I. Anthropology, Ethnology and Ethnography, II. Race, III. Racial History of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, IV. Caste, V. and VI. Sex and Marriage, VII. Family, Kinship and Social Organization, VIII. Magic, Sorcery and Witchcraft, IX. Evolution of Taste in Dress and Ornaments, X. Village Community in South India. As an introduction to the study of Anthropology, Indian students will find the book helpful. The two lectures dealing with Southern India will be found particularly interesting.

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**The History of Spiritualism.**—By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, M. D., L. L. D. Two Volumes with Illustrations. (Cassell & Co., Ltd., London: 1926) PP. 342+342.

This is an authoritative history of modern

spiritualism written by a master hand. For the first time we have here a full and complete history of the movement 'written from inside and with intimate personal knowledge of those factors which are characteristic of this modern development'. The case for spiritualism has been marshalled in this volume as it has never been done before. We have here among other things vivid sketches of famous mediums, accounts of methods of intercommunication, of various commissions of enquiry, and of the researches of great scientists like Sir William Crookes, Alfred Russel Wallace and Sir Oliver Lodge. This masterly and comprehensive account of the successive developments of the world-wide movement is full of intense interest from cover to cover.

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**Natural Man: A Record from Borneo.**—By Charles Hose, Hon. Sc. D. (Cantab), with a Preface by Prof. G. Elliot Smith, F. R. S., and Illustrations and a Map showing the distribution of the Tribes. (Macmillan. 1926). PP. XVI+VI+284. Price 30 s. net.

Dr. Charles Hose is well-known to all students of Ethnology and Sociology as the joint author with Prof. McDougall of *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*. His long residence in Borneo as an official of the Sarwak State has given him special facilities for studying the various peoples who inhabit Borneo and are more or less represented in the Sarawak territory. These peoples

are divided into six main groups, three of whom, the primitive Punans, Kenyahs and Klemantans are said to be survivals of the aboriginal inhabitants of Borneo, a blend of Caucasian and Mongoloid elements, to whom the term Indonesian is most properly applicable; the other three, the Kayans, the Muruts, and the Ibans are said to be the descendants of civilised or semi-civilised invaders, visitors and settlers from China, Java, Burma, and elsewhere. Of the latter the Kayans played the part of a dominating and conquering people, and imposed their customs upon the aboriginal tribes, without blending with them or accepting from them any important cultural elements; and the presumption is that they have to this day preserved the cultures which they had a thousand years ago. It is the Kayan language which is most widely understood in the interior and largely used for inter-communication between tribes neither of whose vernacular it is. The Muruts are remarkable for their system of terraced cultivation which involves irrigation with the use of the buffalo. The Ibans, popularly known to Europeans as Sea-Dayaks, are the latest immigrants to Borneo, probably from Sumatra. The modern Malay language is said to have evolved out of the Iban tongue under Arab influence. In religion, the population of Borneo fall into two broad divisions, Mahomedan and Pagan. The partially civilised people of the coastal regions who have no tribal organization and call themselves Malays (*Orang Melayu*) are Mahomedan, and all other natives

of Borneo, with the exception of such imported elements as Europeans, Chinese and Indians (Klings) are described by European writers as "Pagans" and sometimes indiscriminately as 'Dayaks'.

There are several peculiarly interesting features in the ethnography of the other groups. Thus, to take one instance, quite an interesting custom of the Muruts is that the women propose marriage to the men; and one of the most extraordinary beliefs is that held by the Ibans in the Ngarong or Tua, an Unknown Helper who seems to be usually, though not always, the spirit of some ancestor or dead relative who appears to the man in dreams and commonly takes the form of some animal, and all individuals of that species become objects of especial regard to the fortunate Iban who will not kill or eat any such animal, and, as far as he can, restrain others from doing so. Professor Elliot Smith, in his Preface to this book, says that he is convinced that from the discussion of this belief will eventually emerge the true explanation of totemism, the origin of the idea of the soul, the meaning of animal standards, heraldic crests and the sanctity of the flag. Whether that turns out to be so or not, there can be no two opinions about the great value of the rich ethnographical material delightfully presented in the present volume.

To the anthropologist, the most interesting of these various groups are the short-statured, sub-brachycephalic nomadic Punans who build no houses but support themselves by hunting with the blow-

pipe, by gathering wild sago and jungle fruits, and by collecting jungle products and bartering them with the more settled peoples. Though hunters, they possess no dogs and manufacture no arms of precision or metal tools. What food is obtained in the chase by one of them is shared by all members of the group, and even commodities gained by gift, barter or otherwise, are shared in common. A Punan community has, as titular chief, one of its older members, whose authority is not formally defined, but depends on his reputation and age. He is merely the mouthpiece of the opinion of the community, and is, further, responsible for the reading of omens, and has charge of such household gods and altars as his group carries with it. As their principal god (Bali Penyalong or Supreme Being) the wooden image of the crocodile is carried round by a Punan group wherever it goes, and to it appeals are made in the case of sickness, by the medecine-man. Monogamy is the rule, though occasionally polyandry occurs. Burial and funeral rites are unknown. The Punans are great believers in charms, and their medecine-men are in much request among other tribes for the "catching of souls" and for the extraction of pain and disease. Space forbids us from going into details about this most interesting people and the other peoples of Borneo of whom the volume before us gives a very valuable and full account.

The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

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**The Purpose of Education : An Examination of Educational Problems In the Light of Recent Scientific Research.**—*By St. George Lane Fox Pitt.* (Cambridge University Press, 1925). Price, 4 s. net.

This is the fifth issue of a famous book,—a book that has been rightly described as a milestone in the progress of human thought. The 'psycho-physical' treatment of educational problems advocated by the author does indeed appear to offer at least a clue to their satisfactory solution. Education, our author explains, is in essence and purpose an individualized process of discovering the universal laws that govern the correlation and interdependence of the multiple psycho-physical phases (whether we regard them as environments, states of 'consciousness', 'sub-consciousness', 'unconsciousness' or of 'concepts'), of finding their proper interpretation in the art of living, and giving them synthetic expression in the growth of character. We have, in this book, a most illuminating discussion of the real nature of human personality, the three types of 'psycho-physical complexes' and the laws of complex formation, the laws which regulate their interdependence, emergence and co-ordination, the nature and function of instinct which is the primary basis of a 'complex' and the great importance of the intelligent co-ordination and systematic training of instinctive feelings, the nature and varieties of Environment—which are really aspects of mind, whether individual or collective, due either to the unconscious mind, or to diffused sub-conscious mentality of collective observers, i. e.

'herd-instinct', or due to the vivid waking of consciousness of individual observers. The purpose of education is to learn how to become truly happy, by being 'born again in the spirit' and becoming (as the Hindu would say) a 'dwija' (twice-born) in the proper sense of that much abused term. The lower instincts have to be *sublimated*, not denied; emotions allied to the intermediate complexes have to be purified and exalted and their energies redirected, so that they can find outlet and expression in harmony with the growth of the Great Complex.

We most strongly recommend this book for the careful study of all parents, teachers and guardians of youth.

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**From Groves of Palm.**—*By Bella Sidney Wolf.*  
(Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1925). PP. 81.  
Price 3 s. net, India Rs. 2-8 as.

In this little book Mrs. W. T. Southern (under the nom-de-plume of Bella Sidney Wolf) gives a delightful account of some of her impressions during a visit to Southern India and Ceylon. She is lost in wonder at the infinite patience and untiring endeavour of man to raise, in the great Temple at Madura as in the Liverpool Cathedral, some evidence of his striving to expound the riddle of life and to venerate the Creator. She finds humour in every phase of Eastern house-keeping, and the winds of the East appear to



her sensuous and languorous and full of subtle desire—and hold her in a magic web that snares her soul.

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**Primitive Culture in Greece.**—By *H. J. Rose, M. A. (Oxon)* (*Methuen & Co. London, 1925*) PP. 245. Price, 7 s. 6 d. net.

Prof. Rose has rendered valuable service to ethnology by digging out, not from prehistoric sites but from recorded accounts of custom and belief in ancient Greece, survivals of primitive features and vestiges of primitive thought. But to form a critical judgment as to whether a certain supposed survival of savagery is really such, the author rightly insists on strict proof "either that such a custom can resist, at least as a survival, the growth of civilization, or else that its descendants, in the form of increasingly civilized customs, are capable of going on into a higher culture; or finally, that it has its roots in something fundamental in human nature and thus lasting unchanged in itself although the expression of it and its relation to other elements of culture may change". Judged by this test, the real survivals that our author discovers are indeed not many in number but albeit of great interest to the ethnologist. Traces of primitive features are pointed out in the Greek conceptions of the gods they worshipped, the Greek cults of heroes and ghosts, their ideas connected with birth, marriage and

death, their magic and mythology, their ideas of the family, the 'olan, the state and law, and even in ideas connected with arts and crafts and trade.

The book is expressly written for the general reader, but it will be found equally interesting and instructive by the student of Ethnology.

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**Primitive Culture in Italy.**—By *H. J. Rose, M. A. (Oxon)* (Methuen. London, 1926) PP. 253. Price 7 s. 6 d. net.

This is a companion volume to the author's former work *Primitive Culture in Greece*, and equally interesting and instructive. In discussing and determining to what extent characteristic features of savage life and thought survived in the ancient civilization of Italy, the accomplished author has followed the same critical method of treatment that was adopted in the companion volume relating to ancient Greece. And the result is a very valuable contribution to our study of primitive culture. It is interesting to note that although in the primitive culture of both ancient Italy and ancient Greece, the most characteristic concept of *mana* is to be traced every department, whereas there is no classical Greek word which comes anywhere near it in meaning, Latin possesses a word (*numen*) which approaches fairly near to *mana* in meaning. In the concluding chapter the learned author briefly discusses the reasons how in spite of the fact that among the people not a few traces of savage custom and savage mentality continued to linger down into historical times, and this somewhat

backward folk became the second centre of civilization for all Europe. These reasons are said to be mainly three in number—firstly, that while retaining some of the follies and stupidities of the savage, the Italians appear to have kept not a little of his virtues, such as real devotion to the best interests of the community; and secondly, that they were able to overcome the ancient prejudice against any thing foreign and to assimilate whatever was useful in the new,—besides retaining what was good in the old ways; and thirdly, they possessed that rare gift, an instinct for law and order.

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**The History of the Fabian Society.**—*By Edward R. Pease (Fabian Society; and George Allen and Unwin. 1925). Price 6 s. net.*

In this the second edition of Pease's interesting History of the Fabian Society, the narrative has been brought down to the end of the year 1924 which saw a Labour Government formed in great Britain for the first time and coming to an end after nine months of office. The book traces the origin and development of the socialist movement in England and throws considerable light on the political ideas and work of prominent Socialists such as Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Lord Olivier, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas and H. G. Wells. The book will interest the general reader as well students of Social history.

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**Antiquity** :—*A Quarterly Review of Archæology*  
*Edited by O. G. S. Crawford, F. S. A. (John*  
*Bellows, Gloucester ) Vol 1., no.1, March 1927.*  
*Price 5s. 6d.—Annual subscription 20s.*

We heartily welcome this new Quarterly of which the first number gives promise of a brilliant and most useful future. The special attention paid in the Journal to pre-historic antiquities will make it specially interesting to students of Anthropology. Besides Editorial notes, information of forthcoming excavations, other Notes and News, and reviews of current archæological literature, the present number contains eight leading articles of considerable interest. These are—*Lyonesse*, an account by the Editor himself of prehistoric stone-hedges on a submerged region between the Scilly Islands and Cornwall and folk legends connected with them and with similar other boulder-hedges in Cornwall and elsewhere in England; *The Roman Frontier in Britain*, by R. G. Collingwood, F. S. A., *Orientation*, by Vice-Admiral Boyle-Somerville, C. M. G., F. S. A.; *Stonehenge as an Astronomical Instrument*, by A. P. Trotter; *Some Prehistoric Ways*, by R. C. C. Clay, F. S. A.; *Maori Hill-Forts*, by Raymond Firth, M. A.; *The Danube Thoroughfare and the Beginnings of Civilization in Europe*, by V. Gordon Childe, B. Litt; *Prehistoric Timber Circles*, by Mrs. M. E. Cunnington. The excellent get-up of the Journal does credit to the publisher.

*First Report (1920-1927) of the Servants of the People Society, Lahore*, (Published by Lala Achint Ram, 12 Court House Street Lahore.) This is a

record of silent but most useful and substantial work that is being carried on by the Society under the inspiring guidance of its Founder-Director, Lala Lajpat Rai. The objects with which the Society was started were to make provision for those interested in the study of Politics, Economics and other Social Sciences, and to create an interest for such studies amongst young men in general; and secondly to start an order of life-membership for those willing to devote their whole life for the Political, Social, Educational and Economic uplift of the country. Most earnest efforts have been made to achieve these objects in the following different ways:—(a) By arranging popular public lectures; (b) by arranging classes in politics and economics for students, in which instruction was imparted by several competent up-to-date scholars holding Indian and English degrees; (c) by doing intensive work for the uplift of the depressed classes; (d) by training youngmen in co-operative effort; (e) disseminating sound ideas on all sorts of social and political subjects and on current topics by means of two well-conducted journals, one of which *The People* is in English and another in Urdu; (f) by conducting educational institutions and working as lecturers and teachers; (g) by maintaining a Library and Reading-Room at headquarters at Lahore where the illustrious President Founder of the Society has made over his own residential bungalow with attached lawns and his own private library containing hundreds of volumes to the institution. But with the expansion of the work of the society the lack of sufficient accommodation is being keenly felt, and

a building-fund has been started to which about Rs 1,000 has already come and about Rs 50,000 more is still needed. Important and most useful as every item of the Society's programme of work undoubtedly is, the work among the depressed classes is what will probably appeal most to ethnologists. The editor of this journal who recently visited the Punjab for his ethnographical work can bear personal testimony to the great social welfare work that is being done among the Chuhras or (*Balmiks*) in the interior of the Punjab by Lala Mohan Lal and his enthusiastic band of assistants. It was a revelation to the Editor how much can be done towards the social uplift of the depressed classes by sympathy and selfless devotion. If the generality of our patriots in other parts of India had, instead of expressing what in most cases turns out to be mere lip-sympathy with the oppressed and depressed classes of India, applied themselves in right earnest to such genuine social welfare work as this small band of unpretentious workers have been silently doing in the Punjab one of the heaviest drags that retards India's progress would have been removed before long. Space forbids us from speaking more on the noble work—concomitant, educational and industrial,—of the Society in this direction. The report, published in *The People*, of the anniversary of the Society celebrated at Lahore on the 25th, 26th and 27th of March last, shows what a great change in the attitude of the Hindu public of the Punjab towards the once despised untouchables, has been effected by the devoted labours of the

Society. We are told, "Every body who saw with his own eyes thousands of *Balmiks* who had come from various districts of the province, from Rawalpindi to Ambala, singing songs through all the important bazars inhabited by orthodox Hindus, was feeling the regenerating spirit of the new times. A number of high-caste Hindus joined the procession. Cloth merchants, confectioners and hawkers welcomed their *Balmik* brethern. They threw open their *chabils* to the *Balmiks* as a recognition of their right to use public wells. This reception on the part of the high caste Hindus becomes more creditable when we know that the *Balmiks* are considered by the Hindu Community to be on lowest rung of the ladder even amongst the untouchables." An inter-community dinner given by the Society on this occasion was attended by Hindu, Mohammedan and Sikh gentlemen.

One suggestion which an anthropologist would like to make to all social workers among the aboriginals and depressed classes is that their work should be guided by an intimate knowledge of the psychology and culture-history of the communities among whom they work and that they should not seek to violently eradicate all customs, habits and beliefs that may appear objectionable to the civilized standards of the reformer. Such customs, habits and beliefs are the necessary outcome of social systems that have taken ages to grow up under special environmental conditions and culture influences, and it is by gradual reformation and the gradual introduction of higher ideals and not by



a sudden and complete revolution that these communities can be reformed. Fortunately, the Society appears to realise the wisdom of such a procedure. We heartily wish the Society God-speed in their noble work.

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### **BOOKS FOR SALE.**

*at the "MAN IN INDIA" office,  
Church Road, Ranchi.*

**1. THE BIRHORS :** *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608 with 36 plates. Ranchi: "*MAN IN INDIA*" Office, 1925.) Price Rs. 10/- ; 15 s.

# MAN IN INDIA.

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## I. EVOLUTION OF PALÆOLITHIC ART IN INDIA.

BY L. A. CAMMIADE, BAR-AT-LAW.

*Sometime Collector of Kurnool, (Madras).*

The existence in India of hand axes or cleavers of Chelles type has been known for over sixty years. Up to date only one other palæolithic type is known to occur in India, the Tardenoisian, characterized by tiny lunates and other geometrically shaped pigmy or microlithic tools.

I now propose to show very briefly that between these very early and very late types there are to be found in India a number of other types representing a series of Indian cultures; secondly, that these cultures follow a line of development closely akin to the cultural development found to have existed in western Europe.

In Europe the Chellean type with thick unworked butt gradually passed into the thin symmetrically shaped and well chipped St. Acheul type. The Acheulean, in its turn, changed until, in the period characterized by the finds at Le Moustier, the solid hand axe is replaced by implements made from chips and flakes.

In India the same course of development may be observed.

To show the transition in India from the Chellean to the Acheulean, I begin with two very crude implements found buried in the ancient gravels of a tributary of the Gundlakama at a time when it flowed at a much higher level than at present.

Next, we have implements worked into better shape but still retaining the thick butt.

The thick butt was gradually encroached upon until the Acheulean type is reached with a cutting edge running all round. The implement is now thinner, more symmetrical and very neatly finished.

From the evolutionary point of view the most important point to note in Indian implements of Acheulean type is the use of naturally flat-faced stones in lieu of rolled pebbles. The flat surface is reserved for the under side and that side is worked as little as possible. The same characteristic is to be found in Europe in late Acheulean tools.

The advantage of a flat under-side to an implement having come to be recognized, the next step was to find means to manufacture the desired flat surfaces. A genius, Asiatic or African, discovered how at one heavy blow a large chunk of stone could be detached possessing a broad, flat surface. This discovery had far-reaching effects: it revolutionized implement making. The core type of implement now become practically obsolete and its place was taken by flake implements.

Mousterian flake implements have several peculiarities. One surface of a core was first chipped to the shape of the required tool and then the tool was removed from its core by a single blow. A tool was thus obtained with ready made point and cutting edges. No secondary chipping of the flake was usually necessary.

Another characteristic of the Mousterian type of implement is the tendency to parallel flaking. In Chellean and Acheullean types the flaking converges to a central point. In the Mousterian type the shape was, as far as possible, produced by a series of parallel blows, all delivered at the butt end of the implement. To do this successfully, the butt end had to be flat and it had to be more or less at right angles to the surface of the implement. Even the blow which detached the tool from its matrix was delivered on the same flat striking surface or platform at the butt end of the implement and was in the same direction as the other blows. The butt end of a Mousterian implement almost always exhibits on its underside a well developed bulb of percussion.

All these Mousterian characteristics are to be found in our Indian implements.

The Mousterian type of culture began in India, in Europe, with a simple large flake known as the Le Vallois flake. It probably served as an all-round tool very much like the hand axe or cleaver had done.

In time, special tools were evolved from the Le Vallois flake. They are the same in India as in Europe. The chief tools thus evolved were,—

- (1) the Mousterian point,
- (2) an assortment of side and end scrapers,
- (3) Ribbon flakes.

Over and above these resemblances between European and Indian implements of the flake class, there is the surprising fact that in India, as in Europe, these flake implements are found in association with small-sized angle graters and with microliths. [The associated microliths of India differ from the associated microliths of European Mousterian stations in one particular which may be important. European microliths are mostly made of flint, like the larger tools. In India the larger tools are made of quartzite while the associated microliths are of agate or other stone of glassy fractures].

Mere resemblance between European Mousterian implements and the Indian implements now shown is not enough to prove that these Indian implements are of Mousterian age. The best evidence of age would be furnished by fossil animal bones associated with the implements. I have not as yet been able to secure any good evidence of this kind in any of the seven or eight stations of Mousterian facies that I found in the Kurnool and Godavari districts of Southern India. A few fragments of fossil bone were picked up in proximity of the implements giving hope of better finds. But the association was not indisputable and the bones too fragmentary to be of use for dating the stations.

Unexpected evidence of another kind relating to the age of the implements was, however, obtained

on the plateau of the Nala Mala mountains of Kurnool. On this plateau, implements were found in ashy earth sandwiched between a layer of forest humus and a bed of lateritic gravel. The ashy character of the soil and the way the implements lay close together showed that the station site had been undisturbed from the time when it had been abandoned. The fact that the implements rested on the laterite showed that there had been no forest soil and therefore also no forest on the Nala Mala plateau at the time the station site was occupied. The plateau must then have been an open lateritic heath of the kind that are to be found on top of all the higher mountains of southern India and the climate of the Nala Mala plateau must have been very different then from now.

The antiquity of the implements is also evidenced by the extent to which the laterite has stained and even disintegrated the quartzite of the implements.

Subsequent to the Mousterian type of culture just dealt with, there seems to have existed in India a culture akin to what is known as the Capsian culture of North Africa, Spain and Syria. This Capsian culture was contemporaneous with European Aurignacean and Solutrian cultures and had a close affinity to the former. It was characterized by flake knives shaped somewhat like pen-knife blades (chatel-Perron blades), and by acutely pointed tools (Gravette points).

They are representative of several stations that

occur in various parts of Kurnool, notably on river terraces at either end of the Nandi-kanama pass.

These implements have a tendency to dwindle in size until they are indistinguishable from Tardenoisean microliths. This tendency towards diminutiveness in Indian implements is remarkable because just the same tendency has been observed in the Capsian stations of Asia, Africa and Europe.

Between the Aurignacean and Tardenoisean cultures there occurred in Europe a cave culture characterized by pointings and carvings of high merit and by bone tools and harpoons of a certain type. No cave paintings of Magdalenian character have as yet been reported from India. It is, however, well known that Bruce Foote in 1884 found bone implements in one of the Kurnool bone caves and that he identified them as Magdalenian in type. The accuracy of Bruce Foote's identification is enhanced by the occurrence in and around the Kurnool cave area of an abundance of implements of Capsian and Tardenoisean type.

In addition to the various cultures just referred to, there seems to have existed in India a culture akin to the Campignan which came into Europe just before the commencement of the neolithic period. I have not as yet been able to work up the evidence on this last phase of palæolithic evolution in India but hope to be able to deal with it in a future paper. I have purposely confined myself to



implements to be found in the Kurnool district. If one single district can furnish evidence of so many phases of palæolithic culture, surely there must lie scattered through the length and breadth of this great country a superabundance of material for unravelling the history of the first men who peopled India. From all I can see, India was far more deusely populated in palæolithic times than Europe; and it offers far better opportunities for research work than most other places of Asia or Africa.

The facts I have sketched regarding palæolithic evolution in India need to be largely reinforced by the work of others. I appeal to readers of this journal to further this work as much and as quickly as possible. The available evidence is great but it is being daily and rapidly destroyed.

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## II. THE SPRING-FESTIVAL OF INDIA.

BY NIRMAL KUMAR BASU, M. A.

### I. *The different elements of the Spring-festival.*

The Spring-festival is one of the chief festivals of Bengal. In former times its celebration took place with much pomp, but it seems to have become less popular within recent times; its place being largely taken by the autumnal worship of the goddess Durga. Even now, however, it enjoys a certain amount of popularity in Bengal. It is celebrated in the following manner in this province. (1) <sup>1</sup>

On the 14th light-half of the month of Phalgun, a human effigy, <sup>2</sup> made of straw and strips of bamboo, is erected in a clearance near a temple of Krishna or in the courtyard of a house, if there be any domestic sanctuary. A small model of a hut is also erected at the foot of the effigy. In the evening, a Brāhman priest performs a Vedic fire-sacrifice (*hōma*) in the sanctuary or the temple and afterwards carries the image of Krishna to the place where the effigy stands. The idol is placed within the hut at its foot and the Brāhman goes through the rites of worship and consecration of food to the deity. Then he fetches some fire from the previous *hōma* and lights the effigy. While it is burning, the idol is carried seven times in procession round the bonfire.

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<sup>1</sup> The number within the bracket denotes the number of the report in the appendix in which the evidence for the statement can be found.

<sup>2</sup> But see Northern and Eastern Bengal (6, 7, 8,) where it is usual to burn a sheep's effigy. There is however a local exception in the case of certain parts of Bikrampur (8).

Early next morning, the idol is placed upon a swing in the shrine, and the Brahman rocks it ceremonially for a number of times. The people who are present, sprinkle coloured powder on the idol during the ceremony. The powder is then picked up from the ground by the priest and applied to the forehead of those present there. The whole of the 15th day of the light-half of the month is spent in festivity, the chief sport consisting in sprinkling coloured powder and syringing coloured water on one another. Those with whom a person stands on a chaffing relationship, like an elder brother's wife, or one's wife's sister, are particularly chosen for playing Hôli, as the sport is called. In some places in Western Bengal, obscene songs are sung during the Hôli.

The act of swinging the idol of Krishna is performed with great ceremony some time during the day, the rites being almost the same as on the previous occasion. In certain villages, e. g. in Majilpur in the district of 24 Pergannahs (Bengal), the idol is carried in procession through the streets before being committed to the swing. A similar procession is also current in Eastern Bengal, (11).

In the northern districts of Western Bengal like Murshidabad, and also in Northern Bengal proper, e. g. in the district of Rangpur, there is another element connected with the Hôli. It is also current in Eastern Bengal (7, 8, 9,) where the celebration takes place in the following manner. About three or four days after the Swing-festival of Krishna, a man is crowned the 'King of Hôli'

in a ridiculous fashion and goes thus riding in state through the whole village. Sometimes he collects a 'tax' from the shopkeepers, the money being spent in feasting. During the procession, the retainers of the king sprinkle mud or muddy water on the passers-by.

In Orissā, the Spring-festival is celebrated in nearly the same way as in Bengal, but there are some important points of difference (12). For instance, the human effigy of Western Bengal is replaced by a live sheep which is consumed in the flames (14). In certain places, the custom is not so cruel and the sheep escapes after being lightly touched by the flames (12b). In other places, again, an effigy is put in its place (13). The burning of the sheep's effigy is also found outside Orissā in the province of Eastern Bengal.

In Orissa, the rite of swinging the idol of Krishna is observed in the same way as in Western Bengal, but the first swinging of the early morning is not performed there (12, 13). Moreover, the idols are carried in great procession, at least through the town of Puri, for a number of successive evenings prior to the Swing-festival. The procession is also held in other parts of Orissā (15). We have already seen that there is a similar procession in Bengal, but in that case it is held only on the day of the Swing-festival.

The ride of the 'King of Hōli', which is celebrated in certain parts of Bengal is not observed in Orissā.

In Bihar, the chief celebration centres round

the bonfire, which is burnt on the 15th of the light-half of the month instead of the 14th as in Bengal. A great deal of sexual licence is permitted during the Hōli, an element which is present in an attenuated form in Bengal. In contrast to Bengal, there is also found in Bihār, the practice of throwing ears of wheat, green plants of gram and certain cooked food into the fire. A part of this is taken out and eaten as consecrated (17).

The Swing-festival of Krishna is not celebrated in Bihār; but in the United Provinces, idols of Rām and Sītā are occasionally swung in ceremony (19). The ride of the King of Hōli is only present in the district of Hāzāribāgh. The Hōli is celebrated in nearly the same way over the whole of the country covered by the United Provinces, the Panjāb, Rājputānā and the Bombay Presidency.

The inhabitants of Gujrāt (22) perform the Hōli with a human effigy, with which they also burn a phallic image. It is reported that the Swing-festival of Krishna was formerly held there, but it has now fallen out of vogue. The ride of the King of Hōli also occurs there. This observance extends from Gujrāt to Central India (22,23) and the western part of the Central Provinces.<sup>3</sup>

In the province of Madras, the Spring-festival has a rather restricted distribution. The Hōli (known here as Kāmadahanam, <sup>4</sup> Kāmapañḍiya, Kāminīpañḍigi etc.) is observed in the Tamil

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<sup>3</sup> Ronssellett : 361—5.

<sup>4</sup> Ayyar : 5. The images of a man and a woman are burnt.

country, but not in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. <sup>5</sup> It is celebrated in the district of Ganjam, which however culturally forms a part of Orissā rather than of Madras. It is not celebrated in the more southern districts of Kistna, Godavary and Guntur (24), but is observed by a single caste, the Banoili, in the northern district of Vizagapatam (25). In the Tamil Country, the Swing-festival of Krishna is not celebrated along with the Hōli, but takes place a month later in the full-moon of Chaitra. <sup>6</sup> The ride of the King of Hōli is apparently absent throughout this area.

From a comparison of the celebration in different parts of India, it is found that the Spring-festival of Bengal reduces itself into three groups of rites, having different zones of distribution in India. The bonfire ceremony, which is identical with the Hōli, is present all over India; whereas the Swing-festival of Krishna has a more localised distribution, being present in the eastern part of India, some parts of the United Provinces and the Tamil country. The ride of the King of Hōli is similarly confined to a narrow strip of land extending over Gujrāt, Central India and the Central Provinces and far away east in Hazaribagh and a few districts in Northern and Eastern Bengal. The Spring festival can therefore be considered as a composite formation, consisting of three parts, whose zones of distribution overlap

<sup>5</sup> Reported by Prof. L. K. A. Aiyar.

<sup>6</sup> Ross: 20.

in Bengal, while in the United Provinces and Madras only two of them meet, and in the rest there is present only one (Bihar, Rajputana, the Panjāb and Bombay).

## *II. Their Relative Antiquity.*

The question as to which of these three groups is comparatively older can be settled in two different ways; viz. from direct references to them in historical records, and from the indirect evidence afforded by their distribution and the amount of their differentiation.

The earliest reference to the Hōli in Sanskrit literature occurs in the Savarabhāṣya of Jaimini's Purvamimāṃsā, a work which was possibly composed about the middle of the 4th cent. A. D.<sup>7</sup> The next important reference occurs in Alberuni's India (*circa* 1000 A. D.), in which the Hōli is said to be observed in the month of Phalgun, while the swing-festival of Krishna was held in Chaitra—a fact which incidentally confirms their originally separate character. It is a significant fact that the Bhāgabat Purāṇa, which was composed prior to the 7th cent. A. D., does not contain any reference to the Swing-festival associated with the Hōli, although it is mainly

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<sup>7</sup> Dr. Ganganath Jha places Savara in the middle of the 1st. century B. C. on the evidence of a current tradition that King Vikramaditya was the son of Savaraswamin by a Kshattriya wife (S. N. Dasgupta: *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1922), and Chandragupta II about 375 A. D., both of whom were known as Vikramaditya. So that in any case, the date of Savaraswamin does not go beyond the 4th century A.D., if we are to rely upon the tradition quoted above.



concerned with the story of the god Krishna; the inference being that the festival, 'as now found, had not come into existence at the time of its composition.

The ride of the King of Hōli which has been recognised as the third constituent of the Spring-festival, has not been discovered in any Sanskrit work examined so far; but it finds an important place in the accounts of travellers who visited India from time to time. Thus, Roussellett reports it from Central India <sup>8</sup> while the translator of the *Seir Mutaksharin* who lived about the end of the 18th Century gives a description of the ceremony as he saw it in his time. <sup>9</sup> The dated references to the different components of the Spring-festival are thus very meagre and unsuited for any chronological determination. We shall therefore have to depend upon other evidence for their relative age.

All over India, a large number of minor elements of strictly local distribution have been added to the three festivals from time to time; and the amount of this accretion may serve as a rough guide to their antiquity. In Rajputana, mimic tournaments are held during the Hōli, in which horsemen pelt each other with pellets filled with coloured powder. <sup>10</sup> A special dance is held in the Konkan, and the men and women utter a peculiar sound with their mouth by striking it with the back of their hand, this being known

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<sup>8</sup> Roussellett : 182--4.

<sup>9</sup> *Seir Mutaksherin* III : 145

<sup>10</sup> *Tod* : I, 559-601.

as *Bombne*.<sup>11</sup> In Saharanpur, in the United Provinces, a contest in composing poems takes place between local poets in a gymnasium.<sup>12</sup> In the Panjāb, wrestling tournaments are held in some places,<sup>13</sup> while in others, women paint the sign of *swastika* on the doors of houses to mark the occasion of the Hōli.<sup>14</sup> In Gujrāt, virgins make an image of Gouri with ashes of the bonfire for worship (22), while in Orissā, married girls sweep away the ashes on the following day and mark the spot with various drawings with an emulsion of powdered sun-dried rice in water (13). In the district of Patna in Bihar, the boys of a village throw lighted torches across their own boundary to neighbouring villages, this being considered lucky for their own village and unlucky for the rest.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the secondary elements, which have gathered round the Hōli are numerous and of a widely varying character. Such a development can take place only when a festival has been observed through a considerable length of time, and in widely separated places, which have fallen out of touch with each other.

It is however difficult to estimate the amount of secondary elaboration in the Swing-festival of Krishna on account of the paucity of data. But it seems that unlike the Hōli, the accretion round the Swing-festival has been so small as to have

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<sup>11</sup> Underhill : 45-7.

<sup>12</sup> I. A. January 1910 : 32.

<sup>13</sup> T. C. of N. W. Provinces and Oudh : 137-8.

<sup>14</sup> I. A. 1909 : 127.

<sup>15</sup> Grierson : 402.

escaped the notice of most observers. Primary differentiation has, however, progressed further in the case of the Hōli than in that of the Swing-festival, proving the former to be comparatively older. Thus, in the neighbouring provinces of Bengal and Orissā, the Hōli differs in many important respects; for example, there is only a bonfire in some part of Bengal (2) and in others a human or a sheep's effigy is put into the flames. On the other hand, in Orissā a sheep or its effigy is burnt in the Hōli. In the Swing-festivals of these two provinces, the difference is never so great as this. The rites are essentially identical, the chief point of difference lying in the absence of the preliminary swingiug in Orissā. Another point occurs in the shape of the platform on which the swing is set up. In Orissā it is a simple platform of moderate height, while in Eastern Bengal, it consists of three cubical platforms placed one above another, the one at the top being smallest in size. These variations are not of fundamental importance and are therefore of lesser significance than the great difference which lies in the Hōlis of Bengal and Orissā. It can be inferred from this that the Hōli has been celebrated for a longer time than the Swing-festival of Krishna to allow the development of the observed amount of primary and secondary differentiation.

The ride of the King of Hōli has no specific elements of inter-provincial distribution. Its observance is chiefly left to local taste. But the limited area over which it is found seems to indicate an

introduction which is more recent than that of the Swing-festival and considerably more so than that of the Hōli.

### *III. The Hōli festival.*

We have now analysed the Spring-festival into its component parts and arranged them in order of their age; we shall now proceed to study them one by one.

It has been found that the Hōli festival consists of the following elements in Bengal:—

1. The performance of a Vedic fire-sacrifice by a Brāhman.
2. Worship of Krishna in connection with the bonfire.
3. Burning a human or animal effigy in the bonfire.
4. Sexual licence in an attenuated form.

Among these the third element seems to be the survival of an ancient custom of human sacrifice, on account of the curious fact that the bonfire is considered all over India as the representation of the burning of some being of human shape. Thus, although no effigy is burnt in Bihār, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces, Rajputana, the Panjāb and the Bombay Presidency, it is regarded as the commemoration of the defeat of a certain demon in the hands of Kṛishna or the burning of Kāma, the god of love by the wrath of Siva. In Jaipur, the central pole of the bonfire is believed to represent Prahlaḍ, while the rest of the combustibles is his aunt the demoness Hōli.

(21). In Mathura, <sup>16</sup> a man is compelled to jump through the flames; a practice which may be considered as a substitute for an actual human sacrifice by burning. In Gorakhpur, <sup>17</sup> a monkey is killed and impaled on the village boundary on the occasion, which is probably another form of substitution. Another custom of a doubtful significance is that of besmearing one's body with a paste of flowers and perfumes and consigning the scrapings of the body to the fire, <sup>18</sup> in addition to which is thrown a piece of thread which is the exact height of the man. This curious practice found in some parts of the United Provinces. In Indore, the Baniās erect a nude human idol of brick and mortar and break it during the Hōli, while they worship the god of fertility called Nathurām at the same time. <sup>19</sup> In Bihār the bonfire is the representation of the burning of the demoness Hōli or Dundha (17). Indeed the ashes are not used for any ceremonial purpose as is Ganjām or Gujrāt for they are the remains of a funeral pyre and hence unclean (16). In Bengal the effigy, whether that of a man or that of a sheep, is supposed to be the image of a demon who was killed by Krishna. (6) In Madras <sup>20</sup> and in the Central Provinces (23), the bonfire represents the burning of the god Kāma, who was consumed by the wrath of Siva; in certain

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<sup>16</sup> Growse : 84 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Crooke : P. R. II ? 322.

<sup>18</sup> Oman : 249.

<sup>19</sup> Russell : II, 126 also Gupte : 88 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Ross : 20 and Ayyar : 5.

places images of Kāma and his consort Rati are actually committed to the flames. We thus find that the bonfire is everywhere the commemoration of the burning of a being of human form, whether he be a god or a demon, who may be represented in the shape of a man or an animal.

The fourth element, namely sexual licence, does not take any specific form which is present all over India. In Bengal, a number of indecent songs may be sung, or one might touch the person of one's elder brother's wife in order to play Hōli with her and so on. In Bihār however, the common people go about the streets singing a kind of song called 'kabir', in which the sexual act is described with obscene gestures. It is moreover unsafe for women to go alone in the streets during the Hōli. It is reported that in some parts of the United Provinces, they make idols with strings attached to the penis, which are worked to represent the act of erection when its bearers happen to meet a woman in the street. Oman refers to a similar custom in Lahore.<sup>21</sup> In Gwalior, the image which is broken during the Hōli, is made naked having an erected penis, several feet long.<sup>22</sup> In Benares men used to go about the streets with idols which were apparently in a state of copulation (28).<sup>23</sup>

The source of the sexual licence thus associated

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<sup>21</sup> Oman : 249.

<sup>22</sup> The late Mr. Gupta told me so in the course of a conversation.

<sup>23</sup> That the use of such toys was common in India as early as the 3rd cent. A. D. is proved by numerous references to it in Vatsayan's treatise on cerotis. see Pal : 201, 209, 435 also 440.

with the Hōli may be some such phallic cult as the worship of Nathurām. Or it may be the residuum of sexual licence originally belonging to the Hōli. There are reasons to believe that the second view is correct and the fact that the licence was there from the beginning rendered the fusion with other phallic cults possible in Western India. A third possible source of licence may also be referred to in this connection. It will be shown later on that the festival of Madana, the god of Love was at one time very popular in Northern and Western India ; and it was fused with the Hōli in the course of the last three or four hundred years. The worship of Madana had to be performed with obscene speech along with a number of other rites. <sup>24</sup> These phallic cults, which were of local or interprovincial distribution, perhaps intensified the licence originally connected with the Hōli.

Beside the four elements of the Hōli noted above, there is current in Midnapore in Bengal, a belief to the effect that as the burning pile of the bonfire tumbles down on one side, it indicates the direction in which crops would grow most plentifully in the coming season. The same belief is also present in a slightly modified form in Puri in Orissā, where the blowing flames represent the same thing. The association of the Hōli with agriculture is even more patent in the district of Ganjam, where the ashes from the bonfire are supposed to have the power of rendering the

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<sup>24</sup> Bhattacharya : 680.



fields doubly fertile. The Chāmārs of the United Provinces preserve some charred wood in their granary, <sup>25</sup> possibly with the hope that it would keep the granary full of corn. <sup>26</sup>

Magical potency is ascribed to the ashes in a different way in the districts of Rajshāhi (6), Mymensing (7) and Barisāl (10), where the illiterate peasants believe that they will thus preserve the house from fire and white ants. In the Bombay Presidency, corn is mixed with the ashes when being stored in a granary or in earthen jars so that insects and worms may not spoil them. <sup>27</sup> The inhabitants of Kumāun believe that the ashes are a good medicine for itches. <sup>28</sup> In Hazāribagh there is a superstition that a charred piece of wood thrown over any tree would make it yield more fruits than usual (17). Thus two more elements occur in the Hōli along with those enumerated above. They are.

5. Agricultural connection.

6. Magical potency of the ashes.

There is, however, yet another element associated with the Hōli in certain parts of India, but it is of such a limited distribution that it does not seem to have formed an original part of the Hōli. This is a mock-fight which takes place between the two sexes. It is

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<sup>25</sup> Briggs : 118.

<sup>26</sup> The Gonds the Central Provinces heat a ploughshare in the Holi-fire and use it for the first ploughing of the season. See Chap. IV.

<sup>27</sup> Enthoven : 305.

<sup>28</sup> Hastings : Vol. 5. p. 19.

found among the Banias of the Central Provinces. <sup>29</sup> The Jāts of Mathura have softened it down to a picturesque dance in which the men are arrayed against the women and the fight is represented symbolically. <sup>30</sup> The Gonds of the Central Provinces also have a mock-fight, but in their case it is carried on with more earnestness than among others. <sup>31</sup>

Before we take up the question of the origin of the Hōli in India, it is well to consider the manner in which its elements are distributed among the different castes, and see if this can throw any light upon our enquiry, for we have hitherto been concerned only with their distribution in space.

The sexual licence, which is present in such an intense form among the illiterate people from Bihār to the Bombay Presidency, is however very poorly represented among the higher castes or the educated people (3, 19). In contrast to that, the Chāmars of the United Provinces are reported to give themselves entirely up to debauchery and licence, <sup>32</sup> and it is precisely among them that we also find two of the rarer elements of the Hōli, viz. the connection with agriculture and the attribution of magical potency to the ashes. Among the Biyars, a tribe of labourers and cultivators of the same province, the licence is permitted to an equal extent, while the bonfire

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<sup>29</sup> Russell : II, 126.

<sup>30</sup> Growse : 84 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Russell : III, 116-7.

<sup>32</sup> Briggs : 118.

is lit, not by a Brāhman priest, but by a member of their own tribe. <sup>33</sup> The Labanas of the Panjāb similarly dispense with the services of the Brāhman priest, and further they sacrifice a goat to the goddess of bonfire. <sup>34</sup> The Pavrās of Khāndesh offer a piece of bread, some rice and a cock to the fire, of which a part is thrown into the fire and the rest consumed on the spot. <sup>35</sup> The Mahrātta people of the Bombay Presidency sacrifice goats during the Hōli in some places and they bathe in water boiled over Hōli-fire possibly with the hope of acquiring power in some magical way. <sup>36</sup>

It is thus seen that the elements of the Hōli are distributed in a more intense form, not among the Brāhmans proper, but among those who are more and more distantly removed from them in the social scale. Abul Fazl, a writer belonging to the 16th century confirms the above conclusion by stating that that Hōli' is a great festival among the Sudras. <sup>37</sup>

That the Hōli was indeed not a part of the Brāhmanical culture is also supported by the earliest known reference to it in Sanskrit literature. In the *Savarabhāṣya* of Jaimini's *Purvamimāṃsā*, the Hōli is spoken of as a custom the origin of which is lost in antiquity. <sup>38</sup> But the view of the *Mimāṃsā* school being that all current customs of the Hindus must have had their root in the

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<sup>33</sup> Crooke : T. C. II, 137-8.

<sup>34</sup> Crooke : T. C. III, 8.

<sup>35</sup> Hastings : Vol. 5, 19.

<sup>36</sup> Gupte : 89.

<sup>37</sup> Blochman and Jarrett : III, 321.

<sup>38</sup> *Sabdakalpadrumah* : art. on Holakah.

Vedas, it is held that reference to the Hōli was also present in them. But as nothing like that could be found there, the scholars made an attempt to reconstruct a formula which could have stood in the Vedas, to give sanction to it. We may interpret this absence of Vedic reference as being due to the fact that the Hōli did not form a part of the Vedic civilisation, but of some other civilisation which existed here in previous times. However that may be, it is a significant fact that the Hōli exists in its more intense form among the lower Hindu castes, and references to the festival are very meagre in ancient Sanskrit literature and entirely absent in the Vedas.

The original connection of the Hōli with the lower castes is also revealed by a very interesting custom present in the Konkan.<sup>39</sup> The Brāhmans and other members of the high caste there are obliged to touch men of low caste during the Hōli, an act which they would never do at other times. This is believed to bring immunity from disease, an explanation which was clearly got up after the real meaning had been forgotten.

#### *IV. The Hōli festival (contd.)*

Among some of the non-Hindu tribes of Eastern India, there is an agricultural ceremony, which resembles the Hōli in some important respects. Thus, the Khonds of Orissā held a sacrifice in which human beings were killed.<sup>40</sup> This was a

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<sup>39</sup> Underhill : 45-7.

<sup>40</sup> Dalton : 286 and Russell : III, 473, 475.

periodical celebration intended to improve the crops. The Khonds also resorted to the sacrifice in times of distress. In the ceremony, the victims were either decapitated or burnt or their flesh was torn into pieces. The flesh was then buried in the fields with the hope that the fields would be rendered more fertile thereby. The remains of the victim were burnt on the following day with the further sacrifice of a sheep, and the ashes were scattered over the fields or made into a paste with which the floors of houses and granaries were besmeared; a practice which strongly recalls that of the Chāmārs during the Hōli.

The Gonds, <sup>41</sup> who are a related Hinduised tribe, also observe the Hōli, but they do not seem to have learnt it from their Brāhmanical neighbours, for certain practices are found among them which are not present anywhere else. Like the Thāṛus and the Labanas, they dispense with the service of a Brāhman priest; the bonfire is also lit occasionally by the ancient method of rubbing two pieces of wood. A cotton-plant is also stuck in the middle of the bonfire and a pice (copper coin) and an egg are buried underneath. In the United Provinces also the Hindus bury a betelnut, a pice and a piece of turmeric under the bonfire (19). The Planting of a castor-oil tree, instead of a cotton-tree, is also in vogue among the Hindus in the Bombay Presidency.

After the bonfire has been burnt in a Gond

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<sup>41</sup> Dalton : 281 and Russell : III, 116-7.

village, they give the egg to a dog to eat, believing that the dog would become as swift as fire in hunting. A ploughshare is heated in the Hōli-fire and used for the first ploughing, thus establishing the agricultural connection of the Hōli in a different way. The Gonds also practice a kind of hook-swinging <sup>42</sup> during the Hōli. Besides this, a well-greased pole is set up on the ground. Some money and a quantity of coarse sugar are placed on the top of the pole and the men try to climb the pole and win the prize. A number of women stand near the pole with sticks in their hand, and they beat such men away as try to climb the pole. This is the custom now current among the Gonds. These people formerly sacrificed human beings in connection with an agricultural ceremony of which we have no description left. We are not sure if the rites of the Hōli have been derived from any such human sacrifice in their case; but such a view does not seem unlikely.

The Oraons of Chōtānāgpur <sup>43</sup> and the Nāgās of Assam <sup>44</sup> also practised human sacrifice in connection with agriculture, but they have now replaced it by the less barbarous custom of sacrificing

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<sup>42</sup> A tall post is stuck in the ground, on the top of which another pole is socketed to revolve freely in the horizontal plane. A rope is tied to one of its ends, while at the other a man binds himself with a piece of cloth. He is dragged round and round in the air. In former times, the person was held there by means of sharp iron hooks pierced through his skin, the hooks being tied to one end of the horizontal pole with a strong pole.

<sup>43</sup> Dehon : 141-2 and Dalton : 258-9.

<sup>44</sup> Hodson : 119-20 and Hutton : 159-60.

an animal instead. Sometimes a human effigy is substituted in its place. It is highly probable that the rites of this sacrifice were essentially similar to those of the Kandhs and Gonds; for all these tribes inhabit the eastern portion of India and the sacrifices are also directed to the same end. Considering the fact that the hill-tribes of Assam and Chōtānāgpur also possess some other cultural features in common, like the bachelors' dormitory, the flat oil-press and so on, we may confidently assume that their rites of human sacrifice in connection with agriculture are also derived from a common source.

When we compare the rites of the Kandh sacrifice with those of the Hōli, we find a striking amount of similarity between the two. The characteristic traits of the former are the following :

1. Human sacrifice.
2. Burning of a sheep with the entrails.
3. Agricultural connection.
4. Sacredness of the ashes and their potency in improving the crops.
5. Drunkenness and debauchery.

There Hōli has practically these very traits; even the burning of the sheep is found in some parts of Bengal and Orissa. The similarity is so marked that a common origin may be easily claimed for the two. It is indeed unlikely that among two neighbouring peoples, the Hindus, on the one hand, and the group consisting of the Kandhs, Gonds, Orāons and Nāgās on the other, there should grow up two closely similar festivals in absolute



independence of each other. Moreover, both of these groups of men are principally agricultural. We may therefore infer that the Hōli is only a pale copy of certain sacrificial ceremony which is now best represented by the wild agricultural tribes inhabiting the eastern end of India. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Hōli has been spoken of in ancient Sanskrit literature as an eastern custom. <sup>45</sup>

It has been found that most of the important elements of the Hōli occur in their intense form among the Kandhs, Gonds and others, while they exist among the Hindus in a more attenuated state. They tend to occur in a purer state among the low-caste Hindus and those tribes who have lately come within the fold of Hinduism. The obvious conclusion is that before becoming Hinduised the low castes of the present day professed a culture which was allied to that of the Kandhs, Gonds and the hill-tribes of Assam. They did not forsake their ancient ceremonies after becoming Hindu, for their Brāhman priests allowed the local customs to persist after their ruder features had been corrected. In some cases, further changes took place by the addition of Vedic elements like the *hōma*, which the Brāhmins

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<sup>45</sup> *Purvamimamsa*, 3rd. pada, verse 15. In the annotation to this passage, by Savaraswamin, we find "*tasmat holakadayah pracyaireba kartavyak*". Regarding the meaning of the word *pracya*, we have "The *Pracya* province of Vedic Aryandom included the whole of the region lying to the east of the line Sravasti-Saketa-Prayagā and extending up to the Purva-Samudra or the Bay of Bengal,....." in Chakladar : 76.

probably added as a mark of their sanction to them.

The protomorphous form of the Hōli which belonged to the pre-Vedic civilisation referred to above, was possibly closely connected with the art of agriculture. As there is however no positive evidence to show that the Hōli-sacrifice and agriculture were invented in India, we hesitate to describe Eastern India as the place from which these two gradually spread over the land. Possibly this region served as a secondary centre of dispersal of the festival and also of the art of agriculture with it.

#### V. The Hōli festival (contd.).

The Hōli festival later on picked up a number of elements from another festival called the Vasanta or Suvasantaka. Vatsāyana, <sup>46</sup> an author who flourished in the middle of the 3rd cent. A. D., <sup>47</sup> frequently refers to the festival of Suvasantaka. In a drama called the *Ratnāvali*, which was composed about the middle of the 7th cent. A. D., <sup>48</sup> there is an elaborate description of this festival. It tells us how men and women dressed in their best robes sallied forth into the streets to sprinkle coloured powder and water on one another and how the roads became muddy with the amount of water which was used. In the *Malatimādhava*, another drama composed in

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<sup>46</sup> Pal : 136, 359, 424 etc.

<sup>47</sup> Chakladar : J. D. L.

<sup>48</sup> Smith : 359.

Berar about the 8th cent. A. D., <sup>49</sup> we hear of a great concourse of people during this festival. It was evidently a very popular festival in the 11th, <sup>50</sup> and even as late as the 17th cent. A.D. <sup>51</sup> Alberuni says how the women used to put on their ornaments and demand presents from their husbands at that time. Raghunandan, an author who flourished in Bengal in the 16th cent., <sup>52</sup> thus describes the rite of worshipping Madana during the Vasanta festival. "The images of Madana and Rati should be adorned with *asoka* flowers and the festival should be celebrated with vocal and instrumental music and with obscene speech". <sup>53</sup>

The worship of Madana has now completely fallen out of vogue, and the festivities described in connection with his worship in the *Ratnāvali* are now found with the Hōli instead. It is probable that the presence of sexual licence with each of these two facilitated the transference of the popular festivities from the worship of Madana to the Hōli festival. We do not know, however, why the worship of Madana, the god of Love, fell into disrepute. <sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Smith : 378.

<sup>50</sup> Sachau 178-9. For the date of Alberuni see Smith : 21.

<sup>51</sup> Blochman and Jarrett : III, 321.

<sup>52</sup> Sen : 74.

<sup>53</sup> Bhattacharya : 680.

<sup>54</sup> The ancient traditions of Siam [26 b] speak of a spring-festival which was celebrated by the performance of a *homa*, and during which women sprinkled coloured powder on men. It is also said that the celebration is rewarded by an abundance of progeny and of crops. The festival was certainly introduced there by the Indian colonists, because it is connected with the Brahmanical deities of Siva and Uma. Very probably it is identical with the *Suvasantaka* of ancient India.

A festival similar to the Hōli also occurs in different parts of the European continent. Among the ancient Roman festivals, <sup>55</sup> there were two which were held on the 15th and the 17th of March. The former was celebrated with drinking, dancing, singing and vulgar speech, while the latter with burnt offerings to the god Bacchus. The use of burnt offerings was said to have originated after the conquest of India and the East by Bacchus. This fragmentary account shows the latter festival at least to have been related to the Hōli of Northern India, in which also fruits, corn, and cooked food are thrown into the fire or parched in the flames and there is drinking, singing and the unrestricted use of vulgar language (17-23). The identification is however not perfect, but it receives a strong support in the reference to a connection of the custom with India and the East.

Even in modern times, <sup>56</sup> a spring-festival is found in Europe which shows many points of similarity with the Hōli. In various parts of Italy, France, England, Germany and Greece, a human effigy is burnt in a bonfire or buried or shot at or decapitated, as the case may be. The effigy, called the Carnival Fool, is also carried in procession through the town before being destroyed. In some places, twigs of a particular plant are thrown into the bonfire. There is free drinking and possibly some indecent amusement. No magical potency is however ascribed to the ashes or the

<sup>55</sup> JRAS, 1848 : 105 ff.<sup>56</sup> Frazer : 220-33.

flames. The resemblance of this festival with the Hōli is so great that we are led to the conclusion that it is a form of the Hōli which has dropped one or two elements in course of time.

It is thus found that the Hōli festival exists in one form or other over the vast stretch of land extending from Eastern India to the westernmost end of the European continent. It is hard to account for the apparent absence in the region lying between the the Panjāb and the eastern end of Europe; but the gap is probably due to our lack of knowledge about the present and past festivals of that region.

#### *VI. The Swing festival.*

The earliest known reference to a swing-festival in India occurs in the Ramgarh cave-inscription, which dates from the 3rd century B. C. <sup>57</sup> It tells us about a festival, held on the vernal full-moon, when people adorned themselves with blossoms of the jasmine tree. It does not say if any idol was placed on the swing; apparently the people themselves used to swing.

In Siam, there is a swing-festival introduced from India, but of which the Indian counterpart has been lost. The celebration is of a very limited distribution, being only performed by the Brahmanical colonists in the city of Bangkok. Nobles of the royal family of Siam also play an important part in its celebration. Four men, dressed as Nāgas or the inhabitants of the nether

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<sup>57</sup> Bloch : 126.

world, mount a swing and go through a number of interesting rites (26 a).<sup>58</sup> The celebration takes place in winter, but the old religious books of Siam describe it as a spring festival (26 b). It is moreover connected in the legends with a ceremony which may be considered as identical with the Vasanta festival of ancient India. There is no doubt that this Siamese swing-festival is of Indian origin, for not only is it of a very limited distribution but it is also connected only with the Brāhman priests in that country. The Indian counterpart of this swing-festival cannot now be identified with certainty. It is possible that the swing-festival of the Ramgarh inscription may have had some connection with it; it is also possible that the swing-festival of Krishna is a modification of this ancient ceremony. However that may be, if we hold that the Siamese swing-festival is a representation of an ancient Indian celebration it is certain that when the colonists left the shores of India, the practice of swinging idols had not come into vogue.

We shall now try to determine when the swing-festival of Krishna came to be invented. The cult of Krishna originated in the town of Mathura among an extinct Kshatriya clan called the Yādavas or Satvatas.<sup>59</sup> Krishna was perhaps a great Satvata chief who exhorted his clansmen to be moral and worship only one God. After

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<sup>58</sup> Also see Hastings : vol. 5, p. 889.

<sup>59</sup> Roy Chaudhury : *Early History of the Vaishnava sect.*

his death the reformer was apotheosised and ultimately identified with the Supreme Being Himself. The apotheosis of Krishna took place before the 2nd. cent. B. C. and about that time his story became the subject of dramatic representations.

About the beginning of the 11th cent. A. D., an image of Krishna was rocked on a certain day in the year to represent him as a baby rocked in its cradle.<sup>60</sup> But his image as it is swung now-a-days is that of a young man accompanied by the goddess Radhā. In the older Samskrit works too, the idol for the swing is described as that of the god Krishna, who may or may not be accompanied by his consort Sri Radhā and the cow-boys of Brindāban.<sup>61</sup> It is quite possible that the acts of his youth should be the the subject of representation and the centre of popular festivities. That swinging was a very popular pastime in ancient India is attested to by numerous representations of the subject in the mediæval sculptures of Orissā; Vatsāyana (c. 3rd century A. D.)<sup>62</sup> speaks of a swing as a common piece of furniture in every house. \* However that may be, whether the image of the child or the young Krishna was committed to the swing, it is certain that the Swing-festival of Krishna had come into vogue before the 11th century A. D.

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<sup>60</sup> Sachau : 178.

<sup>61</sup> Viswakosha : art. on Dola.

<sup>62</sup> Pal : 116.

\* This is still the case in Gujerat, Khandesh and some other parts of the Bombay Presidency.—*Editor.*



when Alberuni wrote his book on India and after the 2nd. century A. D. when Krishna was apotheosised.

After its origin, the festival was held in the month of Chaitra as referred to by Alberuni; but the date was subsequently changed to the full-moon of Phalgun, in which we find it as at the present day. Before this change of date took place, it was carried to the Tamil country, where it is even now held in the full-moon of Chaitra. <sup>63</sup>

References to the Swing-festival in Chaitra occur in the Garura and the Padma Purāṇas, while that in Phalgun occur in the Pātākhanda of the Padma and the Utkākhanda of the Skanda Purāṇa. <sup>64</sup> As the date of composition is not known for any of these passages, we have to fall back upon other means of ascertaining which of these is the older custom. In the Garura Purāṇa it is said that "the Swing festival should be held in the month of Chaitra, the Car-festival in Kārtik, the Tantuparban in Srāvaṇa and the rite of planting the *madanaka* tree also in Chaitra. "The Utkākhanda, on the other hand, says that the Swing-festival should be held in Phalgun along with the performance of the Fire-festival in which an animal is to be burnt, this being identical with the Hōli. Now, the car-festival has changed its date, being held in the month of Asār or Srāvaṇa, the Tantuparvan has been completely forgotten, and the custom of planting the *madanaka* tree is

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<sup>63</sup> Ross : 20.

<sup>64</sup> Śabdakalpādrumāḥ : art. on Dolāh.

also never heard of. When we find the Swing-festival in Chaitra being mentioned with so many obsolete customs, and the celebration in Phālgun being referred to as one held along with the Hōli, that being the present custom, we may reasonably conclude that the Swing-festival in Chaitra was the older form, which was changed to Phālgun in the course of time. Indeed the change was perhaps still fresh in the memory of the author of the *Utkalkhaṇḍa*, for he speaks of the practice of holding the Hōli with the Swing-festival as a usage specially dear to the Lord Krishna, as if to compromise those who might object to this change. The date of this change cannot be ascertained, but it must be sometime after 1030 A. D., when Alberuni wrote his book on India.

### *VII. The King of Hōli.*

In Bengal, the festival of the King of Hōli is celebrated in the following manner. On the 4th day after the Hōli, a person is besmeared with mud and carried round the village in a palanquin. There is much merry-making in which everybody joins. The Matia-hōli is also worshipped on that day (7). In Rajshahi, the occasion provides great fun for the schoolboys, for one of them dressed as the King of Hōli sometimes goes to the school with his retainers and commands the Headmaster to close the school in honour of his visit. In the Central Provinces, the King rides on a donkey and is escorted in state through

the village. <sup>65</sup> The villagers also play tricks on each other in various ways. A pice is sometimes nailed down in the street and the unknowing person, who stoops to pick it up, provides the spectators with a good deal of amusement. On this occasion, the French traveller Roussellett was sent a dish of sweetmeats made of sand and some bitter stuff by the Rājā of Chutterpur. The custom of playing Hōli-fools is also prevalent in the Panjāb, <sup>66</sup> and also present in former times in Bengal, for Suraj-ud-dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal was said to have been very fond of making Hōli-fools. <sup>67</sup> The custom does not always go with the ride of the King of Hōli, for in the Panjāb the one is found to the exclusion of the other.

The King of Hōli is also found in Gujrāt (22), from where the distribution extends over Central India <sup>68</sup> and Berar (23). Then there is a gap to the east and it crops out again in the district of Hāzaribagh in Bihār (17) and in the districts of Rājshāhi (6), Murshidābād (5), Rangpur, Mymensing (7), Bikrampur (8) in Bengal.

In ancient Persia, <sup>69</sup> there was a festival in which a false king rode naked through the streets, the celebration being held when winter was passing away. The king held a fan in his hands and complained of the heat. As he rode, the people

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<sup>65</sup> Roussellett : 364.

<sup>66</sup> Oman :

<sup>67</sup> A. R.; II, 334.

<sup>68</sup> Roussellett : 364.

<sup>69</sup> Hastings : vol. 5., p. 873 and JRAS, January, 1924 : 65-72.

pelted him with snowballs. He was escorted by the true king's servants and he demanded tribute from everybody. Those who refused to pay the money were sprinkled over with red-coloured water by the king. At the end of the ceremony, the person was beaten and scoffed. The festival was held in the month of November, but it was also held in the spring. We are not sure if the custom of making fools was associated with it or not.

In ancient Babylon, <sup>70</sup> there was also an annual celebration in which a false king was allowed to rule the land for a number of days. The festival was called 'Sakaea', the name being derived from 'Sakku', a fool. It was held in spring at the passing of the old year. In course of time, the custom reached Persia and thence into Pontus in the Roman empire, where it was observed as late as the beginning of the Christian era. The report goes that in Persia, men and women drank much and lay together in lasciviousness during the festival. In Persia, therefore, two festivals were celebrated annually in which they had a fool for a king for a number of days. Langdon holds that the two festivals were unrelated; but considering the striking similarity between the two, his view does not seem to be very likely.

It has already been said that the Babylonian festival of Sakaea reached Eastern Europe through Persia somewhere before the beginning of the Christian era. Langdon suggests that Sakku was

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<sup>70</sup> JRAS : 65-72.

possibly the title of the mock-king, who was the centre of the festivity. We have already seen that the human effigy which is sacrificed during the Carnival in Europe is called the Carnival Fool and that the effigy is carried in procession through the streets. The Indian prototype of the Carnival Fool, which is burnt during the Holi, is nowhere called a Fool nor is it carried round in procession. It is therefore probable that this title and the procession were picked up by the human effigy of Europe from the other spring-festival of Sakæa.

To the east, the King of Fools reached India by way of Persia or it may have come from Babylon directly by way of the sea. It may be suggested that the origin of the King of Holi, which we are considering as being derived from the Sakæa, took place in India. But it is so closely similar to the Sakæa and its Persian counterpart that an independent origin does not seem likely. In India, differentiation in regard to the King of Holi has not progressed very far; it is therefore a comparatively recent introduction. This peculiar trait is moreover confined to only one or two minor festivals in India, <sup>71</sup> whereas in Babylon and Persia, it was a very great celebration even as early as 2700 B. C. There is also no evidence to show that it was more popular at any former time in India, for no Indian record is known to contain any reference to it. Under these circumstances, we can safely claim a Babylonian origin for the King of Holi.

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<sup>71</sup> Majumdar in the *Bangabani*. Phalguna, 1331 B.S. p. 119.

*Summary.*

The Hōli festival began as an agricultural sacrifice to ensure good crops. Its province extends from the eastern provinces of India to Europe on the west. One of its chief centres of dispersal lay in Eastern India, for the Nāgās, Kandhās, Orāons, who perpetuated the original form till a recent date, are all confined to this area ; and in its purest form it is observed in Bengal, Oṛissā, Bihār and among the Goṇḍs of the Central Provinces. The divination in connection with agriculture is also present in this particular part of India, viz. in the districts of Midnapur and in Oṛissā. The belief regarding the potency of the ashes to increase the fertility of the soil is also confined to this area (Ganjam), although magical potency in different forms is attributed to them in various parts Bengal and Bihār and among the Chamārs and Labanas of the United Provinces.

The festival or the sacrifice did not form a part of the Vedic civilisation ; some of the lower Hindu castes actually dispense with the services of a Brahman priest in the Hōli, a thing which would never have happened if they had received it from the Brāhmins. It is also precisely among the lower castes that many of the rarer elements of the Hōli are met with. The Vedic priests subsequently gave their sanction to the celebration and as a mark of their approval, they added to it a Vedic ritual, viz. the *hōma*. In later times many myths were invented to prove that the ceremony was of Brāhmanical origin. This was

done because the prestige of such rituals was particularly high. Thus, in Bengal and Bibār the myths are in connection with Krishna as a child or a warrior; in Rajputanā, the story of Prahlād and his aunt is told in this connection, while in Central India and in Madras the Hōli is believed to be a commemoration of the death of Madana, who was consumed by the wrath of the god Siva. The disparate nature of these myths prove them to have been subsequently patched on to the actual celebration which came down from more ancient times.

A spring-festival connected with Madana was very popular in India from at least the 3rd to the 12th century A. D. It continued so even up to the end of the 16th century A. D., when the Hōli had already become very popular. In the course of time, the worship of Madana fell in disregard and the great festivity connected with it was transferred to the Hōli instead.

The Swing-festival of Krishna is very popular in those places where Krishna is generally worshipped. There was an earlier swing-festival in which men used to swing; later on the men impersonated certain divine beings, and it is preserved as such in Siam to the present day. Still later, people gave up swinging themselves and perhaps substituted the idol of Krishna in their own place. This festival was formerly held in Chaitra, but the date was afterwards changed to Phālguna, when it was fused with the Hōli.



The Festival of the King of Fools was invented in Babylon. It had the following elements in it: a mock king, license, a procession in which the king was carried round the town and possibly another, viz. the making of fools. Of these, the first two appear in the Babylonian and Persian forms. From Persia the festival was carried into the Roman empire, where it met another spring-festival in which a human effigy was burnt. In the course of time, the title of Fool, the procession and the practice of making fools were transferred to the human effigy and it persists in that form to the present day. To the east, the custom reached India, where it did not undergo any further development.

We may provisionally divide the history of the Spring-festival in India into the following periods:

1. Introduction or invention of the agricultural sacrifice which was later transformed into the Holi.
2. Invention of the Swing-festival mentioned in the Ramgarh inscription.
3. Invention of the festival of Madana. The original of the Siamese swing-festival was developed after Period 2, perhaps about this time.
4. Krishna rocked on a swing, the celebration taking place in Chaitra.
5. The Swing-festival shifts to Phalguna and is fused with the Holi.

According to our surmise, the introduction of the original form of the Holi preceded the advent of Vedic civilisation in Eastern India. Period 1

is therefore anterior to that date. There is no evidence for the dates of any of these periods except that of no. 5., which should fall after 1030 A. D. the time of Alberuni.

*Abbreviations.*

A. R.—Asiatic Researches, II, 1785.

I. A.—Indian Antiquary.

JDL.—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University. Vol. 4, Pp. 85-122.

JRAS.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

TC.—Tribes and castes.

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### *Western Bengal.* <sup>72</sup>

(1) *Calcutta and its neighbourhood.*—The Spring-festival commences on the 14th. light-half of

<sup>72</sup> Also see A. R. II, 334 and Seir Mutakherin III, 145.

Phalgun, when a bonfire is burnt in the evening. A clearance is made in front of a temple of Krishna and a human effigy of straw is erected there. Sometimes a small hut is also made at the foot of the effigy. The effigy is however not found in all parts of Bengal; for instance in the village of Dasghara in the Hugli district, the hut alone is erected for burning. The human effigy is found in the city of Calcutta and the neighbouring villages of Khardā and Naihati to the north and Majilpur to the south.

A Brāhman priest commences the ceremony by performing *hōma* <sup>73</sup> within the temple. The ashes of the *hōma* are made into paste with clarified butter and applied to the forehead of those who are present there. The idol of Krishna or the Salgrām is then carried from the temple to the clearance and placed in the hut at the foot of the effigy. After performing the rites of worship and consecration of food to the deity, the priest lights the bonfire with fire brought from the previous *hōma*. When it is burning, the priest picks up the idol and carries it seven times round the fire. In circumambulating, he keeps the fire always to his right-hand side.

About 4 a. m. next morning, the idol is placed upon a swing in the sanctuary and is gently rocked. While the swing is in motion, the priest and those who are present, sprinkle coloured powder upon the idol. The powder is subsequently picked up from the ground and the priest

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<sup>73</sup> It is a Vedic sacrifice to the god of Fire.

applies it to the forehead of those present with the substance. The idol is committed to the swing once more in the day, this rite being performed with great ceremony. The whole of the day is passed in great festivity, the chief sport consisting in sprinkling coloured powder and water upon each other. The relations with whom the sport is played with greater amusement than with others, are an elder brother's wife, and the wife's sister. Generally there is nothing indecent about the Holi in Bengal; but in certain villages, e. g. Khardāh, obscene songs are occasionally sung. One does not play Holi with one's superiors; but it is the etiquette to place some coloured powder at their feet and salute them duly.

It is usual to send presents of coloured powder, fried paddy cooked in molasses, peas cooked in a similar way and small temples of sugar to the houses of friends and relatives.

(2) *Village Madhabpur, Dist. Midnapur.* <sup>74</sup>—There may be more than one bonfire in the village. It is made amidst the paddy-fields, usually at a place where many people can stand together. No human effigy is burnt; nor is the pile designed to resemble a hut. No animal effigy is burnt or made on the occasion. Fruits (sweet potatoes etc.) are thrown into the fire. These are subsequently picked up and eaten and it is believed that they cure sores in the mouth. As the bonfire continues to burn it finally leans over on one side. It is believed that fields lying in that

<sup>74</sup> Informants Nisibhusan Mitra (aged 25/26) and Rakhaldas De (23), both of whom come from the same village.

direction will bear more crops than others. They do not use the ashes in any way; only the priest marks the forehead of those present with the substance.

(3) *Village Penchakola, Dist. Bankura.* <sup>75</sup> "My name is Kripasindh Misra. I am the head-master of the Upper Primary school. I am an Utkal Brahman by caste. Residence—Chiltod, Dist. Bankura. I have been serving in the school for the last six or seven years and have seen the festival with my own eyes.

"The ceremony of swinging the idol is not performed here in the full-moon (of Phalgun). On that day, coloured powder is sprinkled on the deity and on those present. On the fifth day after the full-moon, the (bonfire ceremony, known as) Chānchari is performed; this being followed on the 6th and 7th days by the Swing-festival.....

"They keep up the night of the 5th.....

"On this evening, the idols are carried in a palanquin all round the village. There are fireworks as the procession goes. In the procession the people play with coloured powder and they sing songs in praise of Hari (God).

On the 6th and the 7th, songs are sung and colours sprinkled on the idols. Then they play Hōli with Brahmans and afterwards play among themselves. The wife's sister and the elder brother's wife are specially teased during the Hōli.....".

(4) *Village Bowāichandi, Dist. Bankura.* I came to learn from two peasants that a human effigy

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<sup>75</sup> Reported by Mr. Kripa Sindhu Misra.

is burnt, the ceremony being called Chānchari. They could not tell me if there was any divination in connection with agriculture.

(5) *Dist. Murshidabad.* A hut is burnt in Jangipur, it contains a sheep's effigy made of milk condensed to stiffness. Fire from a home is used to light the pile.

The 'King of Hōli' is also found in the town of Berhampore.

*North Bengal.*

(6) *Village Majhgram, Dist. Rajshahi.* <sup>76</sup> The Swing-festival is held in the full-moon of Phālgun ..... The celebration begins on the 14th light half and continues up to the following 10th dark-half. The Fire-festival is performed on the 14th ligh-half of Phālgun. A hut is made of straw and a sheep's effigy made of flour is placed within it. An idol of Nārāyan is placed in front of the hut and the priest performs hōma there. Pumpkins and clarified utter are used for the hōma. Then the priest reads *mantras* over the fire and sets it to the pile. When the hut is burning, he carries the Sālgrām seven times round the fire. He keeps the fire to his left. The priest is paid for his services and the householder thus acquires merit... According to a popular belief, bugs are killed if the ashes of the bonfire are preserved in the house. It is also believed that a paste of the ashes with oil cures itches.

The ceremony of burning the sheep's hut is performed in every house where the swing-festival

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<sup>76</sup> Reported by Mrs. Jyotivani Sarkar



is performed. The Lord Vishnu once killed a demon named Meṛā, and this celebration is a representation of that event. The Lord became sorely tired after his fight with the demon, so the gods had seated Him on a swing in order to please Him.

The Swing-festival is held on the following day. The idol is committed to the swing and *ābir* (coloured powder) and various scents are thrown upon the idol. Coloured powder and water are sprinkled upon everybody (during the festival). But it is the etiquette to place some *ābir* on the feet of one's superiors and receive blessings from them in return.....

Some people also amuse themselves with the 'King of Hōli', who is called 'Dhūlōṭer rājā'. He is decked with all sorts of ugly things and the people besmear him with all kinds of dirty things instead of with colours. Here both men and women play with colours.....

*Eastern Bengal.*

(7) *Village Sakrāil, Dist. Mymensing.* <sup>77</sup>

The ceremony of burning the hut is performed on the night before the Swing-festival. A hut is first of all erected; its roof resembles the sloping roof of country-boats in Eastern Bengal. The sacred stone Sālgram is then placed within it and worshipped. An effigy of a sheep is made with powdered sun-dried rice and placed within the hut. Pieces of wool are sometimes stuck upon the

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<sup>77</sup> Reported by Babu Bipradas Niyogi B. A.

effigy. After the rites of worship are over, the priest sets a number of reeds on fire. With the Salgram in his left hand, and the burning reeds in his right, he walks round the hut seven times. He keeps the hut to his right. When it is over, he sets the hut with the effigy on fire and goes away to the temple.

The priest fasts on the day of the celebration. The fire is not obtained from either a lamp or the *hōma*. It is applied to the reeds with matches and purified with *mantras*. The bonfire is not put out for three days, at the end of which, a *hōma* is performed with it. Uneducated people believe that if charred wood from the bonfire be kept in the house, there would be no danger from fire.

The Swing-festival of Krishna is celebrated on the following day. There is nothing indecent in the merriment. Everyone sports with the wife of one's elder brother by sprinkling coloured water on her body. On the fourth day after the bonfire, a man is besmoared with mud and carried round the village. The *Matia-hōli* is also worshipped on the same day. No indecent songs are sung.

(8). *Pergannah Bikrampur*, <sup>78</sup> lying within the districts of Faridpur and Dacca.

The festival consists of four rites which are held on successive days. They are: (1) the Fire-festival, (2) the Swing-festival, (3) the Hōli, (4) the *Matia-hōli*. The preparation begins with the

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<sup>78</sup> Reported by Mr. Monoranjan Roy, M. Sc.

erection of a mud-platform, which consists of three cubical platforms placed one above another, the topmost one being smallest in size. Two posts are set up with a horizontal bar placed over them upon the uppermost platform. The swing is suspended from the cross-bar above.

On the 14th light-half of Phālgun, a small hut is erected near the platform. In some families it is the custom to burn a sheep's effigy in the bonfire; while in others it is that of a woman. Both of these are made of powdered sun-dried rice done into a paste with water. They are small, being only about two or three inches in height. In the evening, the priest performs *hōma* along with the usual worship of Vishnu, who is represented by the Salgram-stone. Then he carries the stone to the hut, and walks round it five or seven times. One of the female members of the house, who has also kept fast, carries a consecrated pot of water before him. The priest lights the hut with fire from the *hōma*. Some people gather charred peices of wood from the bonfire believing that it would preserve the homestead from fire and the depredation of rats and white ants. The bonfire is not allowed to die out, for some of the embers are needed on the following day in the rites of worship.

On the second day, after the usual evening worship, the Salgram is carried to the platform. It is placed on the swing along with the metal images of Lakshmi and Govinda when the swing is rocked. They are afterwards brought home.

The whole of the day is passed in festivity when coloured powder is freely thrown on one another. It is not the rule to use coloured water on this day, although violations of this rule are not infrequent.

On the third day, i. e. the first dark-half of Phālgun, certain drawings are made on the ground with an emulsion of powdered rice and water. In the evening, the idol is carried in procession through the village when coloured powder and water are freely thrown on one another. Different families vie with each other in making the procession as magnificent as possible. After the deity is brought back from the evening ride, the idol is placed in the courtyard upon the space marked with drawings. In closing the ceremony, the priest marks the forehead of those present with the consecrated powder.

The fourth day is also passed in festivity when mud and cowdung are freely thrown on each other. A man is crowned the King of Hōli, garlanded with shoes and potsherds and thickly besmeared with mud. He is followed in procession through the streets by a large number of boys. This custom is now falling into disuse.  
(9) *Sirajganj subdivision, Dist. Pabna.* 79

At a little distance from the house, a hut of moderate size is erected and a sheep's effigy is placed within it. The family-priest carries the the Salgram or some other idol of Krishna to the hut and goes through the rites of worship.

<sup>79</sup> Reported by H. G. Poddar B. Sc. who has often taken part in the ceremony.

When he has finished his task, the idol is brought out and the hut set on fire.

On the second day, the idol is carried to the platform on which the swing stands. It is placed there along with the idols of Lakshmi and Vishnu, and sometimes with those of Nitai and Gour.

The earthen platform is similar in construction to the one found in Vikrampur, the planks placed beside it, being ornamented with carved figures of horses or capricorns. This day is marked by the use of red powder alone; while on the third day coloured water is also used. On the fourth and last day mud is used; and there is a procession of the "King of the Holi" as in Vikrampur.

(10) *Barisal.* <sup>80</sup>

(a). A mud hut is made, to which a betel-nut palm is tied. The "Salgram-stone" is worshipped in the hut. No human or animal effigy is burnt in the bonfire. Charred wood is sometimes kept in the house in the belief that it would keep away bugs and white ants. A similar bonfire is also made during the worship of the deity of the homestead.

(b). The latter statement is however contradicted by a gentleman and his priest from Barisal. He says that although some people are said to make a bonfire during the worship of the deity of the homestead, yet it is not a general custom; indeed few men in the district know anything about it.

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<sup>80</sup> Dr. A. N. Chatterji received the first account from an inhabitant of Barisal. The second was sent to me by Mr. Ramendra nath Roy Chaudhuri. B. A., B. L.

(11) *Village-Kumirdaha Dist. Jessore.* <sup>s1</sup>

On the 14th of the light-half of Fālguna hut is made near the platform for the swing-festival. The Salgram stone is placed in it and the rites of worship are gone through in accompaniment with the music of gongs and cymbals. A sheep's effigy, made of sun-dried powdered rice, is placed near the stone during the worship. The priest goes round the hut seven times and then sets it on fire. The "Salgram" is immediately carried away. Later on in the night the idol is brought once more to the spot and carried round the platform seven times. It is afterwards laid down for rest in the night. The earthen platform consists of three gradually diminishing steps, as in Vikrampur or Pabna.

On the 15th light-half, the priest and the head of the house where the ceremony is being performed, take their bath early in the morning, and go to the sanctuary. They bathe the stone in clarified butter, sandal paste and other sweet smelling articles, and then go through the rites of worship and consecration of food. The stone is afterwards carried to the platform and then seven times round it. Coloured powder is offered to the deity and a 'Hōma' is performed at the same time. In performing these rites, a sieve is used with five earthen lamps, plantains and five kinds of grains placed upon it. When the rite of swinging is over, the deity is carried in procession through the streets. He is afterwards brought back to the courtyard of the temple, where the

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<sup>s1</sup> Reported by Mr. Lalitmohan Sanyal, a priest of that village.

rites of 'Arati', worship and consecration of food are gone through. In closing the festival on the following day, the people sing religious songs in the courtyard, and finally go to bathe in the river.

*Orissa.*

(12). *Puri.* <sup>82</sup>

(a). The swing-festival in spring begins on the tenth light-half of Phalgun and ends on the 15th. Each night, after the usual worship, the image of the deity Govinda is carried with those of Lakshmi and Saraswati on a jewelled litter. Five other litters with the idols of Loknath, Yameswar, Markandeswara, Nilkanth and Kapālmochan (all of those are varieties of Siva-image) are also carried with the former. The procession goes along the main road up to the Jagannathballav monastery. It then returns to the temple. The Bonfire-ceremony is performed (on the 14th. light-half) at a spot S. E. of the platform on which the Swing-festival takes place. In the morning of the 15th. the idols of Govinda, Lakshmi and the Earth-goddess are carried on a jewelled litter to the swing-platform, which lies to the N. E. of the temple. The platform is a structure of stone. It is high and spacious. It has a big arch in the middle. A swing is suspended from the arch and the images are placed upon it. The swing board is of ivory. The images are covered with offerings of red powder; green mangoes are also

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<sup>82</sup> The first is translated from Mahamahopadhyā Sadasiva Misra's '*Shree Jagannath Mandir*', Puri—pp. 71-2. The second is my own report of what I saw in the spring of 1924. (20-3-1924).



given. The images remain on the swing until three periods have passed when food is consecrated to them. (Usually, there are six such periods in the day). The meals consist of gram, sugar and fried paddy (instead of usual food). The idols are carried back to the temple in the evening.

(b). On the 14th light-half of Phālgun a straw-shed was erected near the S. E. corner of the swing-platform. A few strips of bamboo were arranged in the form of a roughly conical shed, and bundles of straw were tied upon them. The central pole also had a few bundles tied to it top. Blankets, wood-work of various kinds, strings of cow-dung cakes, model cocoanuts made of cow-dung were all piled upon the hut, this being done by pilgrims from Bihār, the U. P. and Rajputana. I also saw some women from Bihār and the U. P. throwing red powder and uncooked rice on the pile. At about eleven in the night, priests brought the surrogate forms of Jagannath and his companions on litters carried over men's shoulders. A representative of the king of Puri also came with them. A 'Hōma' was performed by the priests near the pile. The fire used had been brought from the kitchen attached to the temple of Jagannath. No other fire may be used. The king's representative also officiated during the Hōma. It was performed in front of the images, the litter having been already placed on the ground. After it was over, some food-offerings were placed before the idols. The priest lighted a bundle of straw from the hōma and went round the hut three times. A lamb had been all along

held near by. The priest just touched the lamb with the flames which he then applied to the hut.

The lamb was taken away. There was a great cry as the pile caught fire and the crowd constantly shouted out the name of Hari Krishna. The idols were now lifted up and carried round the bonfire seven times. Almost every body tried to join the moving procession. All the time, whoever could, sprinkled coloured powder on the images as the litter went past him. The ceremony was now over and the people went away. I learnt subsequently from one of the priests of the temple (Kasinath Khuntia) that there is a belief that fields lying on that side of the bon-fire towards which the flame seems to lean will bear a heavier crop of paddy than others.

Next day the usual swinging took place. There was the play with colours. The ceremony did not seem to contain any indecent element.

(13). *Kendrapada Sub-division, Dist. Cuttack.* <sup>83</sup>

On the full moon of Falgun, an image of a sheep is made of straw. The effigy is burnt in front of some temple. Fire is produced by the village blacksmith by striking flint and steel. With this fire, the priest performs '*Hōma*'. Fire from the '*Hōma*' is applied to the pile gathered round the sheep's effigy. When it is burning, images of Radha and Krishna are carried round the pile. No offerings are thrown into the fire. The ashes are thrown on the persons present.

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<sup>83</sup> Reported by Madhusudan Satpati.

Early next morning, married girls come here, sweep away the ashes and make various drawings on the ground. Then they bathe in the river and go home.

Next day, colours are thrown as usual. There does not appear to be much indecency.

A man is sometimes carried on a bedstead on men's shoulders, and there is some indecent merriment in this connection. I could not however obtain any details from the subject on this point.

The swing-festival resembles that of other parts of Orissa.

(14). *Bodpur, Dist. Cuttack and Keonjhar in the Orissa Feudatory States.*

Mahesh Chandra Ratha comes from the above village. He lived in Keonjhar for several years. He says that on this occasion a bonfire is made and a live sheep consumed in the flames. He has seen this himself in both the places.

(15). *Village—Delang, Dist. Puri.*

In the spring of 1922, I had an occasion to go to this village. It was the time when the Swing-festival was held. One evening at about twelve in the night we were awakened by the sound of a procession coming in our direction.

Some men were carrying a litter on their shoulders on which there was an image of Krishna (I do not remember if there was any other idol with it). A man was singing a monotonous song in Oriya of which I remember the following lines :—

Kaji ambhara rāja  
Ambhe sankari prajā.

“The Kaji is our ruler and we are his subjects.....”

The song was accompanied by the music of drums, cymbals and horns. Some of the men held torches in their hands. They took some presents of money from us and went away.

It did not occur to me to observe the whole of the festival at that time.

*Bihar.*

(16). *Village Thera, Dist. Gaya.* <sup>84</sup>

*Sambat jalana.*—There is only one bonfire in the village. Village boys steal all sorts of combustibles and pile them in one place. A bamboo post is planted in the middle of the pile and betel nuts and fried cakes of pulse are suspended from it. The Brahman priest of the village performs the rites of worship and sets the pile on fire. He may bring the fire from his home or somebody else may bring it for him. No other idol is worshipped there, There is much singing all through the night as the bonfire burns. Next morning some coloured powder is offered to Mahādeo, for there is a shrine of this deity in the village, after which the men play *Hōli* with each other.

There is no swing-festival in connection with the *Hōli* in this village.

(17). A report on the *Hōli* sent by Tilaknarayan Deb, (Patna), Badrinath Sahay (Hazaribagh), Kamtaprasad Gupta (Singbhum), Gadadharprasad Ambastha (Monghyr), Jagajitnarayan Sribastab

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<sup>84</sup> Reported by Banke Misir.

(Chapra), Rajendranarayan Jha (Darbhanga), Bholanath Sing (Bhagalpur) and Chandrasekhar Sing (Mujaffarpur), all of them students of the Bihar Vidyapith :—

Each of us has seen the Hōli festival in his own district. The ceremony is performed during the last hours of the full moon of Phālgun. But if that period falls in the daytime, then the bonfire is burnt on the previous night. We have all taken part in the celebration. The festival of Hōlika extends from the full moon of Phālgun to the first lunar day of the dark-half of Chaitra.

In the districts of Darbhanga, Monghyr and Patna the articles burnt in the bonfire are simply stacked into a heap ; but in Hazāribagh, a structure is built up resembling a temple. No idols are however placed within it. In Singbhum, the branch of a certain tree is planted in the ground and wood is piled round it. The oldest inhabitant of the village sets fire to the pile in Hazāribagh. In Patna however, five men, of whom one must be a Brāhman, set fire to the pile. In Singbhum, on the other hand, it is only a Brāhman who can do so. In Darbhanga, anyone whose father is not living, may set the Hōli on fire. If such a person cannot be found in the crowd, the people get hold of a simple person and make him do the work. In Muzaffarpur, only such persons as have been born under a particular constellation (i. e. when the Sun was in that constellation) can do so. In the district of Chāpra, it is a Brāhman born under a particular constellation,

who can set fire to the pile. In Bhāgalpur, it is usually a Dōm (a very low Hindu caste) who sets the fire. Before the Hōli is lighted in Singbhum, a Brāhman recites *mantras* and offers a cocoanut, a small quantity of clarified butter and some sun-dried rice to the Hōli. In Chāpra and Patna, the fire is set after the recitation of certain *Mantras*. There is no worship in the districts of Dārbhanga, Monghyr and Hāzaribāgh. In Bihār, no idol of Vishnu is brought near the Hōli for worship. There is no rule regarding the place from which the fire has to be brought. It is brought from any convenient place. In Singbhum, the Brāhman priest circumambulates the Hōli three times; he keeps the fire to his left.

No animal is held near the Hōli. The Hōli is such a big affair that it is not possible for a single person to meet its expenses. In Singbhum, cakes of cowdung, green shoots of gram and cakes are offered to the Hōli. In Dārbhanga, Monghyr, Patna, Muzaffarpur and Hāzaribāgh cooked food is offered in a similar way. These offerings are burnt in the fire. But in Patna, a small quantity of them is taken out before being completely burnt and is distributed as *prasād* (consecrated food). It is said that if this *prasād* be eaten, all diseases of the tooth are cured. In Singbhum, green plants of gram are singed in the fire and carried away as consecrated. The ashes of the Hōli are applied to the forehead for sanctification. In some places in Monghyr, people carry rice ears of wheat to the Hōli and singe them in the fire.

They believe that if a child be given the parched grains to eat, it would not suffer any trouble during teething. Every person throws some cooked food into the fire with his own hands.

The prospects of the coming year are divined from the way in which the burning pile falls down. For instance, there would be death in the village if the bonfire falls to the south.

In Hazaribagh burnt pieces of wood are thrown over trees with the belief that they would yield more fruit after the treatment.....In the district of Patna, there are specified places for burning the Holi. Holi is burnt in every village in Bihar. The ceremony is called "Burning the Hloika" or "Burning the Sambat". The story goes that the demon Hiranyakashipu asked his sister Holika to burn his son Prahlad in the fire. So she took him on her lap and sat in the fire. But through the grace of God, not a hair of the boy was singed while her cruel aunt was completely burnt in the flames. From that day, Hindus have always celebrated the event by burning Holika.

The way in which Holi is played is not alike everywhere. In some places it takes place before the bonfire, in others after-wards. In certain places in Bihar, it is absent altogether. Coloured powder, powdered mica and similar things are thrown on thrown on each other either before or after the Holi according to the local custom. Water in which colours have been dissolved is also used. Holi is played more specially with the wife's sister, and wife's sister's husband, an elder brother's



wife and in some places with the maternal aunt. (m. b. w.). The custom of Kissing, as described in the questionnaire, is entirely absent in Bihār. Men and women of different villages abuse each other. During the Hōli in Hāzaribāgh a man is crowned the king of Hōli; he is known as Bisuwa. He is escorted upon a horse through the whole village. In this place, the festivities begin on the Vasant Panchami, but the chief celebration is on the Full-moon of Phalgun. On that day, crowds of men go singing and playing musical instruments from door to door. They say many obscene things; this being known as Jōgida or Hōri. It is done simply to express their joy during the festival and has no other meaning. Obscene speech is not uttered except during the Hōli. The songs sung in the festival describe the divine love between Rādhā and Krishnā or Rām and Jānaki.

All castes join in the celebration of the Hōli. During the Hōli, all castes prepare a kind of cake known as Mālpūā; they also make other kinds of food in their home. A large quantity of the intoxicating *bhāṅg* is also drunk in the Hōli. (The Swing-festival is not held with the Hōli in Bihār).

*The United Provinces.* 85

(18). In the spring of 1924, I met a large number of pilgrims from the U. P. in Puri. They said that there was bonfire in their country, but no human effigy was burnt in it. At Puri I found them offering coconuts and strings of cow-

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85. Also see growse and Oman.

dung cakes to the fire. The cocoanuts were impaled on poles and held in the flames for a moment. Sugarcanes were also treated in a similar way. These things were then eaten and consecrated.

There is much indecency in their festivities; and a kind of recital is made on the occasion. The speech, which is called *Kabir* begins thus:—

- (a) *Hararara suna hāmāre kabir,*  
 or (b) *Sararara suna hāmāre kabir,*  
 or (c) *Ararara suna hāmāre kabir,*

i. e. "Hurray, hear my *Kabir*". The speakers then say anything that comes up in their lips. They make obscene movements and describe with a peculiar degree of viciousness the sexual act. The *Kabirs* are shouted whenever a woman is within hearing. If any of them unfortunately appear in the streets, the men approach her and shout these filthy things into her ears. The more shameless a man can become, the more lustily is he cheered by his companions. Cases of ravishment even are not unfortunately rare. My point is to show that the degree to which this is carried is not limited by any sense of decency and even in the most outrageous cases of insult, there is no redress, as such acts are not thought reprehensible during the *Hōli*.

(19). *Village Sakharua, Dist. Gorakhpur.* <sup>86</sup>

A piece of turmeric, a betel-nut and a pice are buried in the ground and a post is set up over them. This is known as "burying the *Sambat*" (*Sambat* is the name of the commonly used

<sup>86</sup> Reported by Jaribandhan Panday, an inhabitant of the village.

era. It is signified by this act that the old year is thus buried, (as the new year begins on the day following the Hōli). The boys of the village gather combustibles for the bonfire, and they may carry away anything on which they can lay their hands, and nobody would be rude enough to resent this. There is only one bonfire in the whole village.

The bonfire is burnt on the night of the full-moon of Phālgun. Every householder sends some fire from his house with presents of clarified butter, barley, incense, black sesamum seeds and a quantity of sun-dried rice. The priest first performs *hōma* with the presents sent to him; the *hōma* being performed with the fire which has been sent. Then he goes round the pile of combustibles five times and then sets it on fire. When it is burning, men parch a linseed plant in the flames and hang it later on upon the main entrance to the house, where it remains for the whole year. This is done for good luck. Boys sprinkle ashes on all persons present, but the priest does not do anything of the sort.

Next morning men of all castes carry home some fire from the Hōli and cook their food on it. The old fire in the hearth is put out and the new fire substituted in its place. On this day, Kabir songs are sung and there is much indecent amusement among the lower castes. They also play with coloured powder and mud.

The Swing-festival is sometimes performed in

the houses of rich men, when images of Rām and Sītā are swung.

During the Hōli, many devotional songs are sung. Babu Dichhotku Lal Sukul of the village of Bharatpur in Fyzabad is the composer of many popular Holi songs.

(20). *Benares*. Babu Jaynarayan Ghosal <sup>87</sup> lived in Benares about the beginning of the 19th. century. He has left an account of the Hōli as he saw it in his time.

"The Hōli-festival begins on the first of the bright-half of Phalgun and continues till the night of the full-moon. Young men form small batches and wander about the streets singing and playing musical instruments. The chief festivity continues from the 11th to the 15th. Altars are raised on the public roads, and preferably where three roads meet. Wood and straw are piled into a heap and garlands of flowers and coloured powder are thrown upon it. People play on drums and sing and dance round the bonfire. There are some gross elements in the Hōli just as there are some in the Bengali festival held in Aswin. Two figures are made of wood and they are worked mechanically. They are joined. (It appears that a male and female figure were made and the sexual act was represented). Such is the strange custom of this land that indecent jokes are cut not only with women but even with men. (Here follows a description of the play with coloured powder). On the night of the full-moon, men become intoxicated with delight over the Fire-festival. All over

<sup>87</sup> *Ghoshal : Kasi Parikrama*, pp. 208 ff.

Kasi (i. e. Benares), at the crossing of three or four roads, a large number of trunks of trees are heaped together. People worship the fire and keep up the whole of that night by dancing and singing. They pass the morning by playing with ashes. At mid-day they bathe and then go home. The Hōli is thus ended; but the fire is left to die out of itself, and no one puts it out."

Apparently, the Swing-festival was not held with the Hōli, for in that case it would not have escaped the notice of such a carefull observer as Mr. Ghosal.

*Rajputana.* <sup>88</sup>

(21). *Jaipur.* <sup>89</sup> A simple bonfire is made here. The fire is lighted by a Brahman, who performs *hōma* before doing so. The central pole of the bonfire is not allowed to burn, for it is supposed to represent Prahlād, the son of Hiran-yakashipu, who was not burnt in the flames. As soon as the pole can be handled, it is taken out and thrown into the nearest well or river.

Everyone considers it a duty to add something to the Hōli with his own hands. When the bonfire is alight, they offer cocoanuts to it, and they are taken out to be eaten. Sugar-canes and green shoots of gram are also treated in a similar way.

For the *Punjab*, see Oman: *ibid.*, T (N. W.

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<sup>88</sup> Also see Todd: 559-601, Roussetlett: 182-4.

<sup>89</sup> Reported by two Marwari inhabitants of this place to me in Puri.

Provinces and Oudh ) III, 8 ff. also I. A., 1907, 302, 315 and I. A. 1909, 127.

*Gujrat.*

(22). *Bhawnagar and Wadhwan.* <sup>90</sup>

"Yes, I have seen the festival many times. In my native place—Bhawnagar in Kathiawad and also in Wadhwan, the place of my service for so many years.

"Phalgun and Chaitra, both....Dol Yatra and Madana Mahotsava and Holika Pujana are the three constituents of the celebration of the vernal season.....

"1: Yes, a bonfire is actually made, and the object burnt is a human idol and a phallic symbol on a pile of cowdung cakes with a few wooden sticks and some bundles of hay. This effigy is made up of rags wrapped round a wooden structure. As a rule, in a Native State where the ruler is a Hindu, the fire must be set by him after some worshipping ceremony is made to be done at his hands, by the officiating priest, such as Sankalpa etc. In the absence of the Ruler, the same is carried out by the leader of Holika players (gallants, as they are generally named). The idol of Siva is carried to the Holika fire and worshipped; but this happens in some places and is not true of all places. The fire is not produced now-a-days by rubbing two Arani sticks; that was a practice in vogue some five hundred years back. Yes, the fire is obtained at present from the kitchen of some neighbouring temple. The priest

<sup>90</sup> Reported by Mr. S. S. Mehta from Bombay.

takes his Yajamana (the Indian State Ruler or the leader of the gallants in each bonfire—for the Hindu Ruler has got to go round the whole town and give the initial ignition to all Holika bonfires one after another) round the pile and goes round it himself leading. This is done three times and at the fourth round, they stop short at the centre to do the initial ignition. The fire is kept on his right.....

Not that I know of. No living animal is even allowed to be within certain limits of the Holika fire. No one is compelled to jump through the flames; but young boys and gallants are actually jumping and frisking and playing by the side, till the fire burns itself up. These young boys and gallants are enjoying themselves with great eclat. All the people, as a rule, do offer baked *jower*, baked gram, raw sugar ornaments and fresh dates. I do not know if cow-dung models of fruits are offered. These offerings are foodstuffs and are sold in shops everywhere.

“Yes, the smoke, it is believed, must rise straight up to the highest part of the visible sky; if the burning pile tumbles over on one side, then it is believed that there will happen some unlucky thing. Rain is gauged as far as I know about the matter.

“Yes, these ashes from the bonfire are preserved by all families—with a vague understanding that doing so is conducive to good luck and all round welfare. Now the best use made of these ashes is the one made by virgin girls who mix it with



clay and prepare idols of Gauri for their adoration, which takes up a period of a few days—the whole ceremony being called Gouri Puja and it falls in Falguna Vad (dark) extending to Chaitra Sud (bright).....In one village which contains a population of over one thousand, there are apt to be more bonfires than one for celebrating the Holika festival. When the young boys and gallants of the street in which the bonfire is lit, jump and make themselves merry by shouting out at the top of their voices, "*Hōli mata jay ambe*" and so on. "We bow to thee, Oh Mother Hōli, Glory be to thee".....

II. From Magha 5th to Falguna and a part of Chaitra is a period of time that is characterised as the spring. The very date Magha 5th is known as Vasanta \* Panchami and is generally chosen for a match-making day. From this date onward up to the Falguna-Purnima and the 1st dark-day of *Falguna*, saffron powder, *kesuda* flowered colour filled in syringes are thrown—sprinkled on one another in Vaishnavite temples, nothing being done in the temple of Siva. Again this powder is scattered all over the floorings and walls in the temple. This is done indiscriminately so far as youth is concerned; but old men and widows as well as those who have suffered strokes of calamity such as the death of a young son, death of a son-in-law or a young daughter and so on, are not treated with this sort of playful frolic; nor do they repair to the places of bonfire or temples. Pre-eminently, moreover, are newly

married wives treated with this ceremony by their respective Devaras i. e. brothers younger than their respective husbands. Women too play with caloured liquids and powders but there is a special privilege enjoyed by a younger sister to play with the wife of her elder brother. Next in importance is the wife's sister with whom the husband plays, and then comes the turn of the maternal uncle's wife.

“To give or receive a kiss or indulge in any practical joke by touching the physical parts of the woman, is conspicuous by its absence in our generation in Kathiawad, at any rate in my community. However the ceremony of crowning a king who goes riding on an ass with his dress like that of a clown or buffoon and anointed dark on the face happens to be performed in some Native States. I witnessed it in Wadhwan. He is known as Hemasa in Kathiawad, and Sakhubuch in Cutch. Among low classes, sometimes mock-fights take place, as is the report—but I have got no evidence to substantiate this—between men and women, in some parts of Rajputana. Moreover, the practice of carrying a real person or a mock person or an effigy like a corpse upon the shoulder of young boys and gallants did prevail in Bhawanagar—my birth place—and I have myself in my younger days taken part in it. At present, it has been suppressed. However, it may be existing in some parts of Cutch and Gujrat (including Kathiawad).

“Coming to the point of obscenity, it is clear to note that the festival is regarded by the

illiterate as one characterised by obscenity, and they believe it is a period when all could indulge with impunity in the same privilege. They are known as "Holinafag" in Gujrati language, and are in vogue in those places in which Gujrati is the spoken language. Low castes generally used to indulge much in these songs; and still they do so in certain places. These are connected with the phallic symbol and the female private parts; but the obscenity is ear-rending.....the Swing-festival is at present not in vogue in Cutch and Gujrat (including Kathiawad).

*Central Provinces.* <sup>91</sup>

(23). *Buldana.* <sup>92</sup>

"I have seen the festival myself. I have seen every year in the middle of March in Berar. The last festival I saw was at Buldana. It was in the month of Phalguna.

"The first preparations for the festival begin on the 15th day of the month of Magha (i. e. about the middle of February). The festivities continue for one month and five days.

"1. A bonfire is made. The object burnt is simply a made up pile of many things e. g. a branch of the (?) tree, cowdung cakes and logs of wood. The manager of the house sets fire to the pile. No sacred rites are performed before the fire is set. All sacred rites such as worship and reciting of 'Mantras' are performed after the fire is set. The priest brings an image of Siva

<sup>91</sup> Also see Roussellett: pp. 361-5.

<sup>92</sup> Prepared by a local clerk and a priest under the direction of Mr. C. C. Desai, I. C. S.

and worships it before applying the fire. The fire is not obtained by any special process, but it is purified by the priest by reciting some *mantras* before it is used. The priest does not go round the pile before setting it on fire. It is the manager of the household who first goes round the pile after it is set on fire. He does so three times. The priest goes round the pile. As he goes round; he keeps the fire to his right.

There is no practice to hold some living animal near the pile and to touch it with fire before that is applied to the pile itself. When the pile is burning, nobody is compelled to jump through the flames. People offer cocoanuts, betel-nuts and *naivedya* (sweets). Cocoanuts, betel-nuts and *naivedya* are actually thrown into the fire, of which the cocoanuts are taken out after a few minutes, broken into pieces and the copra mixed with sugar or jaggery as the case may be, and distributed as *prasād*. The offerings are made by the people themselves. The priest receives payment according to the capacity of the people.

"No such beliefs as referred to in (1), (2) and (3) <sup>93</sup> prevail in Berar.

"Some people believe that the ashes (1) cure disease. But they do not believe in what is referred to in (2), (3) and (4).

"In villages only two bonfires are made: one for the villagers in general and the other for the Mahars. The former is known as the Holi and the later as the Hōla.

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<sup>93</sup> See the questionnaire for questions referred to here.

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"The next day's festivities are marked by the people indulging in throwing dust as well as coloured powder. Sisters' husbands and wife's brothers are made special objects of attack. There is no practice of giving or receiving a kiss to one on whom the colour has been sprinkled. The amusements (2), (3), (4), (5) with similar others are observed in Berar.

"Obscenity is practised on the occasion of the festival. Purport is inexplicable. These sayings are known as Phakas. The lower classes of people observe this festival with more ardour.

"Dol Yatrā (Swing-festival) of Krishna is not observed in Berar".

*Madras Presidency.* <sup>94</sup>

(24). *Srikurnam, Dist. Ganjam.* <sup>95</sup>

"I saw the festival myself on the Pōurnami (the full-moon) of Phālguna of every year at Srikurnam in Ganjam District. It is a famous place of pilgrimage. The temple is an ancient one dedicated to Vishnu. It was originally a Saiva temple transformed into Vaishnava by Sri Rāmānujāchārya during his travels. South of Ganjam i. e. in Vizianagram, Godavery, Kistna and Guntur Districts, this festival is not usually held.

"The festivities continue for five days ending with the Pournami (full-moon).

"I. A bonfire is made of a pile of dried leaves and hay. The priest along with Brāhmans

<sup>94</sup> Also see Sappings in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore). Oct, 1925. 129 ff.

<sup>95</sup> Mr. J. Sarvabhadram reports from Guntur.

and others takes the image of Vishnu or Siva round the bonfire thrice and then returns. First the god is taken in procession to a distant *maidan* where thousands gather from distant villages to witness the function. There is no special process to get the fire. No living animal is held near by. Nobody jumps through the fire.

"People believe that the ashes cure diseases and increase crops. It is for these ashes that people gather in thousands and receive kicks and caning from police officers in the struggle to get the same.

"In the Ganjam District, even small villages perform it on a small scale. But Srikurnam is the centre of attraction...

"II. No Vasantotsavam is held in Andhra districts. Ganjam district is half Oriya. Even there, only Kāmadahanam is done and no sprinkling of Vasanta. (This word however means springtime. Here it has been misused for *faḷgu*, coloured powder). This Vasantotsavam is done in our parts on the 5th day of marriage and on the closing day of all religious festivals. Only sprinkling coloured water is done on both the occasions. No songs, no kisses, no throwing on outsiders. The rest under II. is nil.

"III. The swinging-festival is held on the last day. Kāmadahanam takes place on the 3rd or 4th day varying with the star to be determined by priests. The villagers go away with the ashes of Kāma. Hence there is no crowd on this day. The God is taken to a distant Mandapam

(Platform). While he is on the way it is *punyam* (a meritorious act) to see Him. Afterwards He is placed in a *dōla* (swing) and stops there for the day.

"IV. Kāma is not worshipped at all. Even the burning of Kāma into ashes is rare in Godavery, Kistna and Guntur Districts."

Although it is not specifically mentioned, it would appear from the report that some effigy representing Kāma is burnt.

(25). *Anakapalli, Dist. Vizagapatam.* <sup>96</sup>

".....the only observance of this festival locally is confined to the Bonoili caste and the practice consists of little more than sprinkling coloured water on one another, both the sexes inclusive. Nothing else is observed. It is called Kāmini Panduga".

*Allied spring-festivals of other countries.*

(26). *Siam.* <sup>97</sup>

(a). "The Loh Chingcha or "Pulling the swing" ceremony occurs on the seventh and ninth of the waxing moon of the second lunar month, dates falling between the latter part of December and the middle of January.

"The ceremony is conducted as follows. Shortly before the appointed date, a nobleman, a different person each year but always a Phaya Pan Thong

<sup>96</sup> Reported by the Head-master of the Municipal High School.

<sup>97</sup> Mr. Phya Priya Nusasana of the Chulalongkorn University sent these accounts. The first is from "Siam" by W. A. Graham. London, 1924, and the second is an article written by a member of the National Library, Bangkok. For a photograph of the swing-platform, mentioned in the above account, see the book entitled "*The Customs of the World*".



or noble of the Golden Bowl rank, is appointed by the king to fill the chief role, that of the God Phra Isuen (Iswara). A few days later, the open square in which the great swing stands is prepared. Finally a footboard is suspended from the cross-bar of the swing by six strong ropes of rattan, at a height of about fifteen feet from the ground. The board is some six feet long and eighteen inches (broad the greatest length at right angles to the cross-bar) and an extra rope hangs from it, by pulling on which from below, the swing is got into motion. A long bamboo is planted in the ground at a short distance on the west side of the swing, to which a small bag of money is fastened when the ceremony takes place. On the day of the ceremony, four muscular looking individuals wearing appropriate dresses and a high hat made to resemble the head and neck of a snake, are hoisted amid cheers on the swing. Their head-dress proclaims them to be neither satellites of Phra Isuen nor men, but representatives of the underworld kingdom of Phaya Naga, King of snakes and the producer of rain, sent it is pretended to perform for the delectation of Great Siva before the eyes of men. The Brahmans now enter the sentry-boxes specially built for the occasion and intone prayers. and, the assistants pulling on the dependent rope, the swing begins to move to and fro. The momentum increases gradually. The performers bend their bodies in the attitude of saluting the deities and at the same time increasing the arc of the swing. At last, the momentum brings the

swing close to the bamboo with the bag of coins, and one of the swingers, leaning far out and watching his opportunity, makes a grab with his mouth and secures the bag in his teeth. Custom has decreed that to complete the ceremony the swinging must take place three times and to that end three small money bags are provided by the Royal Treasury, the first containing twelve ticals the second ten and the third eight. This brings the ceremony to an end, Phra Isvara is allowed to place his raised foot on the ground once more<sup>98</sup> and after receiving the prayers of the Brahmans to depart with his satellites in the procession the way he came. The ceremony is repeated on the next day but one, with the same observances, and is then over for the year. It only takes place in Bangkok and as I know has no connection with the spring festival called Holi in India".

(b). Andolaka Mahosava. The Great Swing-festival.

"The great Swing-festival is so called as swinging was done by Siva and Uma for their pleasure.

In the garden of Nandana somebody in the embrace of his wife having thick breasts set on a swing made of the Madhavi creeper climbing on the trees Santana and Parijata and was moving to and fro during the spring in the combined

<sup>98</sup> Hastings : *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. 5, p. 889 gives the following additional detail. "The mock-king must witness all this seated with his left foot resting on the ground, but with his right foot uplifted and resting upon his left knee. He must retain this posture all the time the performance lasts"

effect of Ardra, when the cuckoos were chirping the Panchama tune, the whole garden was charged with sweet odours which caused madness in the hosts of the dancing Vidyadharas. Even celestial maidens were singing divine songs so melodiously that even Cupid was maddened in love. On looking at the unknown couple swinging, Uma said to Siva, "Oh Lord, I am curious to see this couple, Please cause a well adorned swing to be made for me and let us swing together".

"Listening to Uma's words, Siva called all great giants and ordered them to construct a swing. Thereupon, the giants erected and raised two firm pillars (like the fulfilment of one's desires), and ran a horizontal bar over across them. Vasuki was substituted for rope. Under his expanded hood, an altar as bright as gems was prepared with a tapestry of silk canvassed over. Its top was adorned with garlands, gems and pearls. The entire structure was still variegated with pieces of variegated cloth and deer-skin. All work being over, the giants humbly informed Siva of it. Siva whose crown-jewel is the crescent moon, at once climbed upon it. It was set in motion by the attendant hosts. On his right stood Jayā, while Vijayā stood on his left, both fanning Siva and Uma with *chowries* in their hands. On that occasion, swinging Uma, the gods, demons and their wives mumbled in overjoy. The celestial Gandharvas praised; the celestial musicians played on their different loud musical instruments; all big mountains quaked; the seven oceans were agitated; all great winds blew

vehemently; all these happened when Siva and Uma were swinging. All the gods saw that the whole world was trembling with fear. They, headed by Indra, approached Siva who can purify all sins, prostrated themselves at his feet and reported to him thus: "Oh Almighty Siva, please step from this, thy recreation. Oh Lord, the entire universe is in danger thereby and the ocean encroaches upon all land". When the gods thus praised Him, He was so pleased that He jumped down from the swing in great joy. Then He clearly and distinctly addressed to the celestial audience that were witnessing the event, "This swing festival is to be celebrated on the bank of the Pushkarini during spring. The altar is adorned with silk embroidered with gems. It is to have an umbrella and a *chowry*. A wreath is to be tied around it with golden balls, beautiful ornaments, stars and flowers. The wreath is to have images of laughing Vidyadharas. Large mirrors are to be kept at the side of the altar. The altar can still be adorned with what is beautiful to the sight. When the sacrificial fire is worshipped, oblations are given to the quarters. This being done, Siva is to be placed in the altar with the *mula mantra* before all people surrounded by their friends and relations. The learned Brāhman who is standing at the side recites the best *mantra* when men and women praise the *daityah* and place flowers, scented sticks, incense and perfumes. At this time women make a mixture of colours in water with saffron and pump it out

on the people by means of golden horns. At this time temple maidens wear coloured cloth and golden belts. They are marked on their foreheads with saffron dust. They chew *pān supāri* and wear garlands of flowers. Being pumped with coloured water, which is yellow and gold, they enjoy the happiness of Cupid. Those who follow the celestials in the Swing-festival, live long, happily, with good progeny, wealth and corn, cross the worldly existence and at last reach my city."

"(Vishnu and Lakshmi are substituted for Siva and Uma when Vaishnavas perform the festival)".

"Translated from the Bhavi-p-Uttara Parva Chap. 130 ff, Pp. 494 ff".

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*Note:* In preparing this essay, I have drawn upon a large number of original reports from all parts of India and have also availed myself of the accounts of the Spring-festival given in previous works on the same subject. My thanks are mostly due to their authors and also to the correspondents who have furnished accounts from their respective provinces. I am also under a deep debt of obligation to Profs. B. C. Majumdar, H. C. Chakladar, H. C. Dasgupta and to Drs N. N. Sengupta and A. N. Chatterji for many kind suggestions and references which have proved very helpful.

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### III. THE SANCTITY OF HAIR IN SOUTH INDIA.

By S. T. MOSES, M. A., F. Z. S., F. R. A. I.

Some years ago while engaged in collecting samples of human hair from various South Indian castes for an anthropologist who tested them for specific characters of taxonomic value, I realised how important a part hair played in the religious life and superstitions of our peoples. The information collected then and since is briefly given below :—

As shaving is one of 6 duties allotted from antiquity to Brahmans, the barbers whose occupation it is are in some parts said to be Brahmans. In the Punjab, I am told, the barber's main functions are to prepare almanacs and to shave on ceremonial occasions. All over India no religious function of the Hindu can be performed in the absence of the Hindu barber who is thus an important personage in Hindu society.

Till recently the fashion of wearing one's hair was an easily-read index as to his caste, religion or even perhaps his district. The typical Mohammedan can be easily recognised by his clean-shaven head. Some Syrian Christians do likewise. Others have tufts the location of which varies. On the East Coast, the area under shaving may be a square patch on the outer margin near the neck leaving a protean patch of hair at the back of the head or one may shave his head all round leaving a circular patch of varying dimensions.

From these patches a tuft of long hair grows. There are ever so many fashions intermediate between the above two extreme types. On the West Coast the head is shaved except for an oval patch on its top from which the tuft grows. It is said this custom was forced on the first colonists of Kerala by Parasurama; they had the tufts behind but had to exchange them to the front and according to a Malayalam saying the tuft on the top of the head is forbidden in Parrdesa—the East Coast. According to Vedic literature the tuft may be 1, 2, 3 or 5 in number. The one tuft on the head may either be in the front, middle or the back; 2 tufts above ears are called *Kakepakshas*, and 5 are known as *Panchasikhas*.

A householder is allowed according to the Vedas to crop his head and so the panicky cry that owing to the adoption of the Western fashion Hinduism is making her exit through the hair is untenable. Some orthodox Hindus assert that the performance of sacraments are valueless unless the doer is the wearer of the tuft which according to them is endowed with some mysterious spiritual powers. Some overzealous Christian missionaries of to-day also think the tuft has a religious significance and so wish the converts when they renounce the devil and all its works to renounce the tuft as well. This year two converts from the Pulaya caste were refused baptism by a German clergyman of the S. I. U. C. Malabar, because they had the tuft still with them. This question upset missionary circles some 50 years ago. The Madras Church Missionary Committee



ordered that no agent should be allowed to retain the *kudumi*. But Dr. Caldwell opined it was a national and not a religious mark. Christians generally crop their heads but the children, e. g. of the Parava Christians shave the head clean except for a big ring of short hair which recalls the pictures of ancient saints and fathers of the church.

Some children, e. g. the first born among Christians, never have their heads shaved by a razor recalling the Nazarite custom among the Jews of wearing unshorn locks, (compare Samuel and John the baptist) a mark of consecration to God. Here, however, the hair is clipped but never shaved.

Among Hindus the first shaving in the life of a man is a very important ceremony; in fact shaving and religion seem to go together all the days of a man's life. The description of such a ceremony among the Nambudiris as given in Ananthakrishna Ayyar's classic monograph on the *Castes and Tribes of Cochin* may be taken as typical.

"This (*chowlam*) signifies the shaving of the child for the first time. It is performed both for boys and girls for the first time during the 3rd or 5th year of their age. Sometimes it is postponed to the 5th year in the case of boys and 7th year in the case of girls. In the case of boys, the whole head is shaved except the tuft or *kuduma*. In the case of girls the ceremony consists of the removal of one or two hairs with

a razor though no objection is made even to shaving the head with the exception of an oval patch of hair on the top of the head. The Maran acts as the barber and is presented with paddy, rice, cloth and money. A Sudra servant is also present and he receives the shaven hair in his cloth when the Maran removes it by his razor. The child is then anointed with a little oil and *tali* (soap) by a Sudra maid servant of the family who bathes it subsequently. The man and the maid servants of the Nambudiri are the Sudras of the higher rank and are known as Illakars without whose aid a Nambudiri cannot get on. The ceremony is believed to have a purificatory effect on the whole character of the boy. According to Aswalayana, the child should be placed on the lap of its mother to the west of the sacred fire. The father should take up his station to the south of the mother holding in his hand 21 stalks of *kusa* grass. He should sprinkle on the head of the child three times a mixture of warm water repeating the words "O Vayu, come hither" and with the formula "May Aditi cut my hair, may the waters moisten thee for vigour". He should then insert three stalks of *kusa* grass 7 times into the child's hair on the right side saying "O divine grass, protect him" Then he should cut off a portion of the hair and give it to the mother with the recitation of various texts. ["The razor with which Savitri the knowing one shaved the beard of Kings Soma and Varuna with that, Ye Brahmans, shave now his hair, that he may be blessed with long life,—with

old age". "With what Dhātri has shaved the head of Bráhaspathi, Agni, Indra for the sake of long life with that I shave thy head for the sake of a long life of glory and welfare thus a second time. By what he may at night further see the Sun and see it long with what I shave thy head for the sake of long life of glory and welfare, thus a third time" ], leaving one lock (Sikhā or Chūrā) on the top of the head or sometimes three or five locks according to the custom of the family".

Among all nations is found the custom of leaving locks unshorn during an arduous undertaking in which divine aid is implored. Among Hindus the rule is that the *dikshā* which originally meant of the period of a determined act should commence with a shave, but that during the period itself no recourse should be had to such an operation. Hence the secondary meaning of the word *dikshā*, the actual growing of the beard. Shaving may be done only at certain times of the year. For example Tuesdays and Saturdays, special days like new moon and full moon and the festival days like Ekādasi and Dwadasi are taboo for shaving. During the Mahālayā Amāvāsa season shaving should be avoided for a period extending from the full moon prior to that Amāvāsa for a fortnight. Among Brāhmans when the wife is in the family way, the husband should refrain from shaving. Mondays and Wednesdays, even when there may be other factors usually demanding abstinence from the barber, are very good for being shaved. Two brothers may not

shave on the same day, if the parents are alive nor a father and son ; while starting on a journey it is inadvisable to shave. This taboo is closely connected with the belief that clippings of hair can be utilised to work evil against the *quondam* owner. It is due to this fear that hair clippings and such refuse are either carefully preserved or destroyed by being burnt or buried. Magicians engaged to bring about an enemy's ruin or even deaths require the hair clippings or at least the parings or the nail which play an important part in their witchcraft practices. The idea is that the man's spirit permeates even such insignificant parts of the human anatomy as hair clippings and nail parings. Demons are said to have an aversion for hair ; and the magicians nail hair to a tree and exorcise the demons away from the tree. The aversion to hair is explained by the story of a clever woman who saved her husband, an amateur magician. The latter by his charms succeeded in enslaving a very powerful demon, whose condition of service was that he should be always kept engaged. The demon, being what it is, finished the various orders, possible and impossible, thought out by the unfortunate man. As the penalty, if no work was given, was death, the man was trembling. But his wife to whom he confided his troubles came to his rescue. When the demon came thundering for work, she gave the demon one of her hairs and asked him to straighten it. The demon tried thousand and one ways but failed and at last thought it could do what a smith does. The demon wanted to heat the

hair and then beat it straight. He put it into the fire but it fizzled away into nothing and in despair the demon ran away never to approach the magician any more.

When a Mohammedan child is believed to suffer from the effects of evil eye, some hair of the child and of its mother are clipped and burnt, the mother and the child being fumigated with the resultant smoke.

A very common offering to the gods is one's own hair. Polling locks at shrines, e. g. Tirupati, Chinnatirupati and Pazhani is often in fulfilment of a vow made on condition of recovery from a serious illness or in thankfulness for some special blessing received or success vouchsafed. A profitable trade in human hair is carried on by the temple authorities, the right to collect which is leased out to the highest bidder. These shrines are also favourite places for the ceremony of the first shaving of children. Children and adults, both men and women, offer their hair to God. The idea underlying this offering is said to be one of communion, for, hair is the usual medium of union. The devotee by giving a part of himself, in this case his hair, puts himself in actual communion with his god. In the case of women, whose beauty is in their locks, of hair, the motive is easily explained. Like the thousands of Japanese women who in 1922 gave to the temple of Hegoshi Hingwa their hair to form ropes to help the work of reconstruction, they offer to God that which is most dear to them. Among Tamil Brāhmans there is a custom

that widows should be deprived of their locks and have the heads shaved clean. The custom may have originated in ladies voluntarily renouncing during widowhood everything which gave them pleasure during the lifetime of their husbands. Valentine De Milans on the assassination of her husband, Louis De Orleans, cut off her flowing locks and laid them on his tomb. Howsoever the custom was introduced, widowhood with its attendant tonsure, is the greatest misfortune that can happen to a female.

A very important shrine though not situated in South India, but which attracts innumerable pilgrims from there, is Allahabad, where devotees should stay for five days. On the first day they are expected to bathe in Triveni and fast after being shaved. On the third day females who go with their husbands should offer a portion of their tuft of hair to Triveni. The belief is that for every hair of the devotee dropped into the holy river, he or she will have a million years' residence in heaven.

Wearing hair in lockets is common among many nations as a token of affection or memory. Nuns are said to weave their clipped locks of hair into girdles used by themselves. Irish ladies, it is said, give their lovers bracelets made of their hair as love tokens. Among Maravas in South India, the *tali* (wedding string) is made of hair. The reason is given in the following story :—

The son of Mara Pillai, who was born of Ahaliya and Indra, was the legendary ancestor of the

Maravas. He declared war against Indra who wanted to marry his daughter. In the fight in which Indra was worsted Indrani was captured and her hair cut off. With a string made from it, he made the *tali* strong for his daughter, whom he gave away in marriage to a bridegroom of his choice some time later.

Hair relics of Mohammad and Buddha are objects of worship and reverence by their religious adherents, and pilgrimages to the shrines where these were preserved to be exposed on particular occasions are meritorious acts. Sacred hairs of Budha are preserved in Burma, and in Sanchi is found a representation of deities in heaven by name Travastimsa worshipping the hair of the Bodhisatva. Gautama before embracing the religious life is said to have cut off his locks of hair with a sword. The hairs were borne along the air by the gods to heaven where they offer worship to them.

Four important places in India containing Mohammad's hair relics are Delhi, Bijapur, Rohri and Elimala. In the Jumma Masjid, Delhi, is a hair from Mohammad's beard stiff and red, set in a silver tube. Two hairs from his beard are preserved at Asarmahal in Bijapur. At Warmubarak in Rohri a hair set in amber and enclosed in a golden case studded with precious stones is exposed every March to the innumerable pilgrims who flock there then. It is said to change colour mysteriously and also to rise and fall. At the festival of Bara Wafat, the sacred hair of Mohammad is specially honoured. The mosque or palli



in Elimala, Malabar, attracts all the Moplahs annually. The hill is important to the Hindus not only because of a Parasurama Kshetram there, but also as the piece of rock with medicinal herbs let fall by Hanuman on his aerial career to the place where Lakshmana had fainted. The flora is said to be interesting containing innumerable species figuring in Malabar Medical Science. Annually the Moplahs (Mohammedans) celebrate the festival in the programme of which two items are important. One is of course the exposure of Mohammad's hair and the other is the hunting expedition of the devotees under the leadership of the Thangal or Priest. \*

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\* This paper was read before the section of Anthropology of the Fourteenth session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in January, 1927.

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTION.

### I. NAGA MEDECINE.

The Naga tribes, though they differ widely in this as in other parts of culture, have like most peoples a medical practice of their own. This paper does not attempt to be a complete manual of Naga medicine, but only to notice those aspects which are of direct interest to therapeutics. The information available broadly shows that among all the Naga tribes there are four distinguishable methods of treatment—(1) the propitiation by ceremonies of unknown spirits which are responsible for disease (2) the exorcism of disease by the magical arts of the professional healer (3) the cure or avoidance of ailments by the consumption of certain foods or use of certain specifics which work on principles which can only be termed magical, and (4) the use of surgical methods or specifics which have empirically been found useful.

Of the first and second methods a number of writers have treated fully. It need only be remarked that in one case at least the professional healer, by using a lemon leaf for his feats of prestidigitation, acknowledges the properties of astringent herbs. An exhaustive exposition of the third method would be well-nigh impossible and somewhat oppressive. Most of the items in the herbal catalogue appended are of this nature, and the influence on health acknowledged to be

found in certain foods has been dealt with by several writers. The range of plants believed to be medically operative is very wide, and it may be said to vary from village to village, if not from family to family. It must however be admitted that the line of cleavage between this, the magical, and the empirical methods is not clearly defined. As said by Hutton (*The Sema Nagas* page 100), though the process of reasoning is often to us obviously faulty still there is such a process, and in many of the examples given in the accompanying list of prescriptions it is at present impossible to say whether the *raison d'être* is deductive or empirical.

The empiric knowledge of the Naga, however, is of interest, at least as showing the extent to which such knowledge may be naturally acquired by a people lacking contact with western or Aryan science. It may be considered under the heads of surgery and pharmacy.

Naga surgery appears to be primitive in the extreme. The use of bamboo splints is not uncommon, and cases are known in which an unruly member has been cut off, even by the patient himself. More scientific practices appear however to be the property of particular tribes. The Aos check bleeding by filling the gaping wound with sawdust scraped from the inner skin of the bamboo. \* The Changs go a long step

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\* While the Lhotas use the fine yellow spores that fill the pod of a certain orchid. J. H. H.

further. They blow the sawdust into the wound through a bamboo tube, and effect a suture by running thorns alternately from side to side through the two edges of the wound and tightening the gap by a strong hair wound about the thorns. It may be conjectured whether the device was suggested by the similar method of clasping the cowrie wristlet, of which this tribe is very effective. A bad case of mauling by a bear so treated and brought into the Mokokechung hospital, appeared so satisfactory that the doctor did not interfere, and a cure was obtained by first intention.

The Lhotas rely for many forms of pain such as sprains and inflammation, on the practice of cupping. The instrument is usually a serow's horn, with a small hole bored through the tip. The medical attendant wraps a fresh tobacco leaf round this tip, and this acts as a baloe. He then sucks vigorously until the skin is puffed up. Withdrawing the horn, he lacerates the skin by tapping it with a small curved knife like a sickle but with the tip ground to a chisel edge. He then replaces the horn and sucks till the horn is full of blood. The process may be repeated and is no doubt effective where blood letting would be so. Other processes of a surgical nature but very crude idea are described by Dr. Hutton (*The Sema Nagas*, page 101-104).

The herbal remedies known to the Naga are, as has been stated, numerous, and it would require investigation by medical experts to say in every known case whether the use is empirical

or imaginary. In some cases it is clearly the latter. For instance the curious parasite *viscum* is believed to be able to effect a junction between broken bones by mere external application. The ground of faith appears to lie in the extraordinary way in which the plant attaches itself to its host, so as to seem a part of it. On the other hand the use of certain crotons by the Semas, and also of jungle berries, as purgatives is undoubtedly based on trial. The use of *gentians* (*vide* Dr. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, page 104) for coughs, cannot be an accident. Again many of the plants used have undoubtedly astringent properties, and their use may be due to this knowledge, however mistakenly applied.

The Nagas have taken very readily to European medicine in every branch, and it is not to be expected that any valuable secrets lie buried in their own practices. They have not, indeed, advanced far upon the road of science, but they are far from helplessness or devil-ridden, and have at least taken firm hold of the empiric method. Quaint as many of their beliefs may seem, there is often a kernel of truth within (Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* pages 100-101; Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, page 136). Perhaps one of the most interesting details is the various use of rice beer. Besides being a pick-me-up, when drunk hot, after a drinking bout, the stale lees is used as an emetic, yeast as a poultice for boils, and the pulped rice as a poultice for snake bite, while it is said that fomentation with hot rice-beer has restored to life persons killed by *frost-bite*,

or even by lightning. There is a modicum of truth at the base of all these exaggerations.

The only poison known to the Nagas appears to be the pounded root of the *Rhisa* (Lhota) creeper ( ) which has a very strong smell and so it cannot be secretly administered.

#### PRESCRIPTIONS.

For burns.

*Lhotas.* The leaves of *Woropenthung*, or *Mirimozu* burnt to ashes and plastered on the affected skin.

*Aos.* The leaves of *Tokongtrok* roasted in the embers in a plaintain leaf, crushed and applied.

*Semas.* Various croton seeds, also the seeds called *Lochekati*, of the tree *Aghikushupusu* (a croton of some kind) chewed.

*Lhotas.* Fat pork as diet.

For Coughs.

*Semas.* The flowers of *Crawfurdia Campanulacea* (probably) and *Censeosa Andrographioides* (*Aghunakhuye* and *ashe-ghunakhu-ye*. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* page 104)

*Lhotas.* The berries of the *Yenkuti* chewed.

For diarrhoea.

*Lhotas.* A diet of roast goat's hoof or the gall of a cow or pig.

For emetic.

*Lhotas and Semas.* Chicken and rats' dung whipped up in water, and drunk.

For sore eyes.

*Lhotas.* The leaves of *Mongsentung* (*Mæsa Chisia*, Don) crushed and held before the face, and the breath puffed up through them so as to atomize the vapour.

For pain in the eyes.

*Semas.* Mother's milk on juice from the pounded root of a variety of *Arum* tuber (*Tsukchobo*) dropped into them.

For Fever,

*Lhotas.* Leaves of the *Luramozu* rubbed and soaked in water, and used as a lotion.

For headache.

*Lhotas.* The leaves of the *phuphu* (*Plectanthrus* Sp.) or the *Kizu* (*Bischoffia Javanica*) wrapped round the forehead in a fold of cloth.

*Semas.* The leaves of the plant *pulakhu* (*Mosla Diautherea*) cooked and eaten, and creepers tied round the forehead.

*Lhotas.* A decoction of the leaves of *Sangsewo* (*Drymaria Cordata*, Willd) with salt (The plant is used by *Semas* as an embrocation for chest pains) or a poultice of the leaves of *Tsandhrammozu* (*Measa Indica*).

For Leech bites.

*Lhotas.* An infusion of the bark of *Nungatsung* as protection.

For pox or skin complaints.

*Lhotas.* Soot, or a lotion of the leaves of *Temphak* (*Rhus Semialata*).

For Rheumatism.

*Lhotas.* The leaves of *Hypericum Japonicum* Thly.) bound round the joint.



For Snake bite.

*Semas.* The leaves of *Yepuwo* or *Yeshuye* (*Polygonum Alatum*) and *Ayeshu* (sp. *Polygonum*) heated and applied to bite. Also the world-wide process of sucking the wound.

*Aos.* The thick leaves of the *Nokchimo* plant scorched, crushed and applied.

*Lhotas.* The inner bark from below ground of the *Moyennukhu* (*Latsea Sebifera*, Pers.) applied to sore.

A mash of the giant woodlouse destroys maggots.

*Semas.* The leaves of *Ayerthapi* dried and used to destroy maggots in a sinus.

For spleen.

*Semas.* A decoction of a lime (*Khumithi*) with chillies and native salt.

For stomachache.

*Lhotas.* A .*potion* of the bark of *Nshiu* (*Fraxinus Floribundus* Wall.) infused in hot or cold water with salt.

The dried upper stomach of a porcupine drunk in water. An infusion of the bark of *Nashitung* (*Herepernum Chelonoides*) or *Yenkotung* drunk.

For Strangury.

*Lhotas.* An infusion of the root of *Hothsum* or *Ngyangwo* (*Hedyotis Scandens* Roxb.) drunk.

For toothache.

*Lhotas.* As for strangury; or the stem of *Kakhuyebo* (*Polypodium prrpinquum*, Wall.) heated and bitten upon.

*Aos.* The inner bork of the *Mituyong* pounded and dried or the bark of *Mesangsong* (*Schima*

*Wallicii*) rubbed together, and the soapy juice which exudes applied.

*Lhotas*. The leaves of the parasite *Hangyempa*, or *Ereprechemozū* (*Viscum articulatum* Burm) crushed or, when dry, pounded and mixed with water. The plant is rare and an unusual belief in its efficacy, which extends to healing broken bones, exists. It is scrambled for when found.

A lotion of bark scrapings from the *Chaching* (*Heptapleurum venulosum* Sum) *Nungnung* (*Callicarpa Arborea* Roxb) or *Hmhmti* (*Taraklogenos kurzū*) applied to wounds, or a poultice of the leaves of creepers called *Indrrhawo* (*Senecis Scandens* Don. and *Tournefortia viridiflora*, wall, perhaps).

*Semas*. A poultice of the pounded root of the *Saphayeho* grass (*Curculigo recurvata*, Dryand) or the scrapings of bark from a wild pig, *Chulhobo* (perhaps *Ficus prostrata*) with the mans' own hair. \*

H. G. DENNEHY.

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\* This paper was read before the section of Anthropology of the Fourteenth session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in January, 1927.

## II. ON A PECULIAR FISHING IMPLEMENT FROM THE KANGRA VALLEY.

During my recent tour to the Kangra Valley (May-June, 1926) an interesting type of fishing implement, locally known as *Kalerni*, has come to my notice. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Prem Das, Sub-Inspector of fisheries, Kangra, for drawing my attention to it and for getting me a specimen for the Indian Museum Collection. He has also supplied me with valuable notes about it.

The specimen consists of three pieces of thin hemp twine, each about a foot and a quarter in length. Of these, two pieces are knotted, so that each forms a running noose, and are firmly fastened to the two ends of the third piece. To this central piece are now tied at irregular intervals a number of horse hair loops with running nooses. For this purpose a long hair is taken and tied to the twine in the centre of its length, the two free halves are then knotted into loops. As many as thirty such double loops are present in the specimen in my possession.

This implement is used in the rapid-flowing waters of our shallow, rocky streams. The fishes of such streams possess the habit of ground feeding and are capable of attaching themselves to rocks and stones by means of suckers and frictional devices of various kinds. They usually dart about from rock to rock and are thus enabled to progress in very swift currents. The other

type of fish that frequent the rapids are the powerful migratory fishes like the well-known *Mahaseer* (*Barbus for sensu lato*) and several other species of *Barbus* that migrate up-stream at certain seasons for breeding purposes and return to the plains when the season is over. Owing to the shallowness of the water in the hill-streams they have to keep quite close to the bottom when moving about. It is for the capture of such fishes that *Kalerni* is used. It is fixed in the course of a rapid stream among big boulders and rocks by the help of two pieces of stone lodged in the loops formed by the two end pieces of twine and securely fastened there by adjusting the position of the sliding knots. The central piece of twine with the horse-hair loops is kept stretched tight. Fish moving up or down the stream are caught in the loops and the creatures in their struggles are then rendered helpless by mechanical action of the running knots. A fisherman uses about 50 to 100 of such implements at a time and lifts them up after every three or four hours, some possibly containing fish, while others may be quite empty. When the implements are taken out of water after the day's work, the hairs are lubricated with *ghee* (clarified butter) to keep them soft and strong and to prevent them from cracking. During use if any hair gets straightened, it is turned into a loop again before using it next day.

From the fact that a single horse hair is used to make a loop it is evident that *Kalerni* is only meant for catching small fish. In the Kangra

Valley most of the fish are of a small size. It is also possible that hill-stream fishes with "suckers" do not struggle much because during the greater part of their life they remain quietly sticking to stones. As an instance I might cite the case of a species of *Glyptothorax* from Manipur <sup>1</sup> locally known as *Nga-pang* or the innocent fish. This species is said to stick even faster to rocks and stones when touched with something instead of swimming away to safety. It is thus very easily secured and hence the name *Nga-pang*.

Various kinds of fishing implements have been reported from India and Burma and some of those that are used in the rapid waters of our torrential streams are very ingenious devices. But there is not one, to the best of my knowledge, that agrees with *Kalerni* or is anything like it. The *Kalerni* is modelled after certain devices that are used all over India, Burma and the adjacent countries for snaring birds. One such device from Java in our collection (No. 6866) is labelled as, "a model of a fishing implement", but Mr. A. Pelder has entered the following remark in our register against the same number "Evidently an implement for snaring birds?". An examination of the model leaves no doubt that it must have been an implement for snaring birds and that it could never have been used for fishing. Dr. Satya Charan Law has informed me that unfortunately our knowledge of the various devices used in bird catching in India is very

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<sup>1</sup> Hora, *Rec. Ind. Mus.*, XXII, p. 173 (1921).

meagre <sup>2</sup> and it is still more unfortunate that the several interesting specimens of such devices in the collection of the Indian Museum have not, as yet, been reported upon. \*

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<sup>2</sup> Harper, *On Bird-catching in India*, *Avic. Mag.* (n. s.) I. pp. 262-268, pl. (1903); Gill, India Bird-snares, *The Times of India Annual* (1923).

\* This paper was read before the section of Anthropology of the Fourteenth session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in January, 1927.

### III. THE KANI ( OPIUM ) PUJA OF THE MIKIRS OF ASSAM.

The following is a second-hand account of the ceremony performed by opium-eating Mikirs with this drug conceived as a magical agent. Something of the same nature is probably done by certain other opium-eaters. The ceremony may be observed by the village as a whole, or by an individual, but the conduct is apparently always entrusted to an old man of standing. It may even be observed by a tribesman who does not himself eat opium. The conscious intent is mainly divination.

The site of the ceremony must be by the village water-supply, though it is not clear if the same site is used for all celebrations. An oval patch of ground about six feet by four is cleared and plastered with cowdung. The whole is roughly fenced. No one must step upon this space without ablution. Five small rectangular plinths are made within, one large and four smaller reeds erected, and a forked peg planted to support a miniature bow with stretched cord and arrow. On the plinths are placed leaf-plates with little heaps of rice. A goat, duck or pigeon (by no means a pig or fowl) is killed and the blood allowed to drip upon the heaps of rice. Small pills of opium are then placed in the mouths of the reeds and set alight. If the smoke appears white, crops will be good, people fertile, and sicknesses absent. If however the smoke be black,



a converse fate is to be expected. Probably the celebrant prays that the omens may be favourable. The flesh of the animal or bird is then cooked and eaten. There is no prohibition however on the removal of the remains for consumption at home.

This appears to be a divination rite. The bow and arrow indicates however that a secondary intention is to warn off evil spirits.

H. G. DENNEHY.

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*Note*:—The Mikir *kani puja* is not to be confused with another *kani puja* observed by opium-eaters in Assam, which consists in a sort of sacramental rite, in the course of which opium is distributed to and taken by the participants. No doubt in this case too, but more obviously, I think, in the Mikir case, the probable intention of the ceremony is to secure benefits, the element of divination naturally arising out of this, as an indication might be expected of whether the ceremony had been adequately and therefore successfully performed or not.

J. H. HUTTON.

#### IV. THE FROG MARRIAGE IN ASSAM.

*(The Pouranic Story).*

In the Satya-juga (i. e. days of truth) there lived a king who had a beautiful daughter. When she attained marriageable age there happened to be many suitors for the princess amongst whom Indra, the king of Heaven, was one. Finding Indra as one of the suitors for his daughter the king very gladly agreed with the proposal of giving his daughter in marriage to Indra as his daughter would be a queen of the Heaven. But his daughter was against this arrangement. However it did not depend upon the will of the bride to select a suitor, and accordingly a day for the celebration of the marriage was fixed by the king.

The celebration of the marriage was held between the daughter of the king and Indra. And the people of the kingdom did greatly rejoice at the celebration, as Indra, the king of the Heaven, would come down to marry the daughter of their king who was an earthly being. But all the rejoicings of the people were turned to sadness at the time of tying the nuptial knot between the pair; because the cry went forth from inside the palace that the bride had absconded. A great anxiety and sorrow arose in the minds of all. After a thorough search, however, the bride was found hiding herself in a corner of a house. Indra was very much ashamed of the conduct of the bride and went away after cursing her. He ordained that she should not be married to any

one and that she should take the shape of a frog and spend all her days in the corners of houses.

In accordance with the curse of Indra the princess at once attained the shape of a frog. She was then ordered by her parents to go to Indra and prostrate herself at his feet asking him to take away the curse and to marry her. The bride did accordingly and Indra took pity on the young princess and said that though he would not marry her himself the people would annually give her away in marriage to a male frog and that he, accompanied by Bāyu, Baruna and all the deities of Heaven would come down to witness the celebration.

In accordance with the above story the people of this country have performed the frog marriage from time immemorial, thinking that Indra, the king of Heaven, Bayu, the king of the Winds, and Baruna, the king of Rain, come down to witness its observance. The people who perform this ceremony consider it successful if rain comes on the day of the frog-marriage; because raining is taken to be a sign of the coming down of the aforesaid gods of the Heaven.

In course of time it has come to pass that when there is a shortage of rain for the cultivators to cultivate their paddy fields, the frog marriage is performed in order to get rain. This practice is still continued by the Hindu peoples of Assam. \*

T. C. SAIKIA.

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\* This paper was read before the Section of Anthropology of the Fourteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in January, 1927.

## V. HOW TO MAKE A CHILD BEAUTIFUL.

We propose to deal with a few time-honoured practices prevalent among ladies of West Bengal for enhancing the beauty of a child. We shall not pause to consider the scientific value of these practices. We record these practices for what they are worth, just to give an index to the mentality behind. They are interesting from more than one point of view. Sometimes they appear as approximations to recent scientific theories, and this may enhance their interest.

Ladies believe in prenatal influences in the making of the child. The ladies do not prescribe heavy, spicy and heating diets for a woman big with child. Light and healthy foods are said to be good for the child in the womb. Above all, a mother's cheerful frame of mind conduces to the health of the child in the womb. A pregnant woman is required to take special care of her health from after the fifth month of pregnancy. She should take moderate exercise every day, otherwise the delivery will be painful and the child sickly and idle. Ladies believe that if a woman occupies herself with reading good books, like the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata after the fifth month of pregnancy, the child born of her womb will keep an unsullied character throughout life. The belief is fairly common that the mother's food and the mother's thoughts during pregnancy contribute to the making of the child, both physically and

mentally: This may be more or less scientifically correct. But there is another sort of belief in prenatal influences, which smacks of superstition pure and simple, and no possible scientific basis for the same can be discovered. A pregnant woman is strictly enjoined not to do anything during an eclipse. She is to sit still, and think of high and elevating topics, preferably some *līlās* or doings of an Avatar (Incarnation of God). It is believed that whatever she does during an eclipse is sure to leave a permanent mark on her child in the womb. If she cuts anything during an eclipse, a broad longitudinal mark appears on her child. If she folds the page of a book her baby will get a doubled up ear. If she puts a black mark on a wall, a wart will appear on her baby. If, during an eclipse, she digs lightly on the earth with her toe, or puts one finger upon another, as ladies sometimes do without meaning anything, some permanent disfigurement will appear on her child after birth. If during an eclipse she braids up her hair and ties it into a knot, her child is sure to get a twisted leg or hand. Instances under this head can be multiplied without end. The phenomenon of eclipse is a mystery to semi-illiterate women, and they have devised a mysterious connection between the doings of a pregnant mother and her child in the womb. Physical deformities of children are very painful to their mothers and are inexplicable like the decrees of fate. A womanly explanation, couched in terms of apparent wisdom, has come down through the ages. It may be the *ipse dixit* of some matrons

of by-gone days. A snub nose is a very great disfigurement in this country. Old matrons believe that this defect can be remedied if steps are taken immediatly after birth and their belief stands to reason. Stretch your legs straight and put the child on them, lying on its back. Apply mustard oil slowly on the nose and raise it up lightly so that the child may not feel the pinch. This process repeated day after day for a month or so cures the defect. Matronly ladies say that a snub nose is often the result of giving the baby suck in a lying posture, so that the pressure of the mother's body falls on the end of the baby's nose. This is perhaps, to some extent, correct. An ill-developed ear is also a very grave disfigurement. It can also be remedied by the above process by lightly stretching the ear day after day. If the head of the baby is ill-shaped, it can be set right by putting a small pillow full of mustard seeds and leaves of *Nisinda* tree under its head for one or two hours every day. The pressure of the mustard seeds inside the pillow is believed to react on the head of the baby and give it a rounded shape. The *Nisinda* leaves act as a reagent in the process, so to say, and help to remove the defect. Mustard oil in which bits of garlic have been boiled is applied when cool to the topmost crown of the head, the *Brāhmarandhra*, as it is popularly called. This makes the child cold-proof and gives a tone to its system. The oil has to be applied three or four months after birth. Elderly matrons fully believe in the efficacy

of sunshine on the health of the babies. They make it a point to expose them for some-time everyday to sunshine. The belief is quite in keeping with the modern theory about the healing effect of the sun's rays. The colour or pigment of the skin is an important consideration. A dark colour in an otherwise beautiful and healthy girl is a very great drag in the matrimonial market. Ladies have sought to find out a remedy in their own way. The remedy is not a scientific one. Though Bengali ladies do not believe in the very doubtful theory that colour of babies can be improved by prenatal influences if their mothers think of beautifully coloured flowers or beautifully coloured pictures during pregnancy, yet they entertain the still more unscientific belief that children begotten during daytime get a better pigment than those who are conceived during night; but the former are believed to have poorer brain-powers than the latter. If a little after delivery a gold ring is tied round the navel of the child by a tight thread and kept in position for months, it is said to bring about a change for the better in the pigment of the skin. Mustard seeds baked on a dry pan, finely powdered and made into a paste, is applied on the baby to improve its colour in the first or second month after birth. This paste is called *Rup-tān* or beauty-inducer. There are other preparations similar to this. A paste made of cream, flour and peels of orange is also said to improve the colour of the skin. Failing these two, the cheaper turmeric paste and oil is



applied on the child every day in the first and the second month. Turmenic is a good disinfectant and its use cannot be bad. It is a matter of common observation that black children immediately after birth present a reddish hue, while really fair-coloured children immediately after birth have a sober pigment on their skin. Ladies believe that by applying *Ruptans* on the reddish skin of children who are to develop a black colour later on, the pigment of the skin is prevented from taking an undesirable change.

SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, M. A., B. L.  
*Cuttack.*

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## VI. POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS IN ORISSA ABOUT SMALL-POX AND CHOLERA.

Cholera and small-pox strike terror into the heart of people. These diseases at their worst have hardly any treatment, at any rate in the villages. Village Kavirajes and doctors are of little or no avail. They cannot even alleviate the sufferings of the patients. A healthy man dies of cholera within a few hours. A man with beautiful features is disfigured beyond recognition after an attack of small-pox. Simple people living in villages ascribe supernatural agency to these visitations. The Thākuraṇi when angry causes these epidemics, and, when she is appeased, the epidemics go as a matter of course. The superstitious practices that the Oriya people follow during an attack of small-pox and cholera are dealt with here.

The day small-pox eruptions appear, an earthen pot is set up in the house duly smeared with vermilion. It is a symbolical representation of the Thākuraṇi. In rich households a priest comes every day to worship the Thākuraṇi and recites verses of the *Chāṇḍī* before it. Poor people who cannot afford to have the services of a priest are content with offering their silent devotion before this symbolical representation of the Thākuraṇi. A mixture of gram (*chānā*), sugar, and pepper (*golmarich*) is offered before the goddess, and the patient is made to partake of this offering. There

are strict injunctions for keeping the house neat and clean. It is believed that if the house is unclean, the Thakurāṇi becomes angry and does not leave the patient soon. Fish and meat are eschewed by the household in deference to the advent of the Thakurāṇi. The main entrance to the house is washed with water morning and evening. If there is any *Nim* tree near about the house, the householders make it a point to bathe its roots every morning with water and to put a vermilion mark on its trunk. It is believed that the goddess of small-pox has her favourite seat on the *Nim* tree, and hence the tree is worshipped in this fashion as a symbolical representation of the goddess. On the third, seventh and ninth days of the illness an earthen pot or *hāṇḍi* is filled with *chānā-pānā*, a mixture of *chānā*, sugar, etc. and is put on the crossing of three roads, near the house, before sun-rise. This is meant for the followers of the goddess. People believe that the goddess never comes alone but is attended with a host of unseen spirits, who invade the whole country—a superstitious way of describing the highly infectious powers of the disease. After the recovery of the patient, the *ghat* or symbolical representation of the goddess is immersed in water.

The goddess Sitalā, who traditionally presides over small-pox in Bengal is not known in Orissā. She is a goddess with four or two hands, yellow-coloured and seated on an ass. The goddess who is said to preside over the disease in Orissā is known as Mangalā. There are a few temples

dedicated to her in the whole of Orissā. She does not appear as a deity with hands and feet. She is nothing more than a piece of stone, smeared with vermillion.

The superstitious treatment of the disease can be summed up in one sentence,—heat is death and cold is life. Heating spices, fish, meat and hot drinks are forbidden simply because they are not liked by the Thakurāṇi. She likes cold drinks, *chāna*, butter, sugar-candy etc. The patient should avoid direct sunshine for the same reason. Application of hot water or steam bath to the patient is considered dangerous for the reason that it is likely to offend the Thakurāṇi. It is only when the eruptions subside and scabs begin to come off that vapour bath of cocoanut milk is applied to the patient to remove the marks caused by irruptions. Even the dead bodies of small-pox patients are not burnt, but buried under earth. It is considered dangerous to set their dead bodies on fire, as Thakurāṇi might take offence thereby. On the eleventh day of the illness when scales have begun to come out a thin paste of turmeric mixed with leaves of the *Nim* tree is applied on the body of the patient. Both turmeric and leaves of the *Nim* tree have disinfectant properties. It is a salutary custom to apply these at a time when the chances of infection are at their height.

We have stated above that small-pox is not regarded as a disease at all by superstitious people, but as a manifest obsession by Thakurāṇi. Small-pox is popularly known as Thakurāṇi in Orīyā.

This belief brings on resignation, and the masses are not so afraid of it as the educated classes. Superstitious people do not mind the disease at all after they have observed their traditional observances. They do not understand preventive measures and have hardly any inclination to act up to them. But all the same, faith in Thakurāṇi is so uppermost in their mind that they are not much concerned by the outbreak. Doctors say that want of anxiety and fear is a great safeguard against infection.

Whenever an epidemic of small-pox appears in a locality a *Kalshi* appears on the scene, who affects to interpret the wishes of the Thākurāṇi with regard to each particular victim of the disease. The *Kalshi* may be of either sex, but is generally a woman. If no *Kalshi* comes from outside, an elderly woman of the locality who has some local knowledge plays the role of a *Kalshi* and earns something thereby. The oracular utterances in which she affects to interpret the wishes of the Thākurāṇi to the laity are often couched in mystic language. She lays special stress on the observance of the rules of cleanliness and purity and forbids the application of heat in any form to the patient. If there are two cases of small-pox in a household she at once gives out which one will prove more dangerous than the other. She often gives out the cause why Thākurāṇi has been angry with the household. Some violation of social rules or of the time-honoured code of cleanliness, or even moral delinquency is held up to the household as the

root cause of the wrath anger of the goddess. When once she is angry she has to be appeased in the traditional way. The root cause of anger is left out of court, for the time being, and the traditional ways of appeasing the goddess are resorted to. The Kalshi has a very great influence in the locality when an epidemic breaks out. People give alms to her, whenever she takes a fancy to visit them. The Kalshi is not only the interpreter, but also some sort of agent of the goddess. Any disrespect or want of courtesy to her is sure to bring on divine punishment. It is widely believed throughout Orissā, that the Kalshi has the power to set the goddess into motion and to induct the disease into any household. The Kalshis are never exorbitant in their demands. They are satisfied with what little they get from every householder, but their total earning during the season is by no means inconsiderable. They are very shrewd people. By constant observation they come to know which cases are likely to prove fatal, and in order to keep up their prestige they occasionally speak out blunt truths, so that the relatives of the patient might not have any delusion about the possible termination of bad cases. Kalshis are attached to the temples of Mangala. They are recognised Kalshis and are looked up to by all the people in the locality. But even in localities where no temple of Mangala exists and no recognised Kalshi is found, someone comes forward to play his role for the time being and gets a handsome return for the same. The Kalshis do not as a rule go against

the popular superstitions about small-pox. They rather follow the prevailing superstition as much as possible and make it a point to see that their oracular utterances are in keeping with them. Their oracular utterances are often directed against the doctors and their mode of healing.

A disease that has to take its course and which is almost beyond the art of healing, makes people superstitious whenever it breaks out and makes a great havoc in the locality. The reason why the application of heat is so much decried in popular superstitions is that its application, at the outset, makes the irruptions subside, with the result that the poison goes inside the system and makes the recovery very difficult indeed. It has to be said in this connection that if we leave aside the preventive part, the superstitious practices are not in any way harmful to the recovery of patients in ordinary cases. Medical men say that exposure to sunshine is bad, because the ultra-violet rays of the sun have a corrosive effect on the irruptions, which leave a deeper mark after exposure. Herein also the popular superstitions lean on science's side, they seem to have a substratum of truth in them, which is the result of long observation.

It is widely believed that if bitter gourds or *Nim-leaves* are taken every day, an attack of small-pox can be avoided during the prevalence of an epidemic. Doctors can say whether bitter gourds or *Nim-leaves* can bring on immunity against an attack of small-pox. But these have a very good action



on the liver and serve in some way to purify the blood. It is also believed that the *Nim*-tree, standing on the eastern side of a house, over which the morning rays of the sun break in serves as a protection against small-pox. The milk of the jenny ass is said to have a prophylactic effect. It is said that asses, unlike cows and other animals, do not suffer from small-pox. What truth there is in these popular beliefs has to be brought out by scientific investigations.

The popular superstitions about cholera almost runs parallel to what we have said about small-pox. The *Yogunis* or *Yoginees* are said to cause this disease. *Yogunikhva* in vulgar language is synonymous for being attacked with cholera. The *Yogunis* are the followers of *Mangala* and *Kali*. They are disembodied spirits who can make themselves visible in any shape. They come to a locality in large number when an epidemic breaks out. The epidemic abates if they are appeased, and it increases in violence if the people of the locality do not see their way to satisfy the *Yogunis*. They also love a drink of *chana*, butter and sugar. It is offered to them in an earthen *handi* on the crossing of three roads. The worship of *Kali* and especially *Raksha Kali* is said to purge the locality of the epidemic. She is the presiding goddess of the *Yogunis* and, if she is appeased, the *Yogunis* are called off from the affected area. The *chana* offered to the *Yogunis* is also given to the patient. This is bad in all conscience as solid food in any form is strictly prohibited by doctors. *Baishnavism* is the popu-

lar religion of Orissā. During an outbreak of the epidemic people carry the Bhāgabat or rather the palm-leaf manuscript of the Bhāgabat to a place specially selected for its worship. After worship the Bhāgabat is carried from door to door, and some verses are recited aloud before every threshold. It is believed that the Yogunis are appeased if the Bhāgabat is worshipped duly in the village.

We shall describe how the Yogunis work, by giving a specific illustration. Some years ago Dhaniakhāli village was terribly affected with cholera and many men died of it, the people tried their best to appease the Yogunis, and at last an elderly and pious man of that village dreamt that the Yogunis will go to Hānskhāli through another village called Koilipara. The Kailipara villagers were highly alarmed. There was a poor woman in the village, she was quite untidy and slovenly in her habits and no one in the village had ever given her the glad eye. A few days after the dream she suddenly gave up her shyness and appeared before the villagers in public, dressed in her best clothes. She professed to be an interpreter of the Yogunis. She said that three sisters had come to the village and one of them had possessed her. The other two are staying outside the village under a plum tree. They were without children and were cruel and remorseless. She asked the villagers to recite the Bhāgabat and to offer *Bhōg* or offerings to her sisters staying under the plum tree. The villagers did all that she had bid. Her word to them was law. She carried a cane

in her hand and was in a highly excitable and emotional frame of mind for the whole day. She seemed to enjoy the Bhāgabat very much. The recitations of the Bhāgabat went on till midnight and just before the assembly was about to break up she told the villagers to get a boat ready next morning for crossing the river on her way to Hānskhāli. The boat was made ready the next morning and she crossed over to the other side of the river. The moment she landed from the boat and reached the bank she suddenly fainted away. When she recovered consciousness she became her former self and wondered how she could have come to such an unknown place. She returned to her home and never showed any tendency to play the grand. Next day there was a terrible out-break of cholera in Hānskhāli village and many people died of it. How this simple girl caught up the idea that the Yogunis would move from Dhaniakhali to Hānskhāli through Kailipara village, it is impossible to say. Was it a case of hysteria or was it a case of obsession like that of Joan of Arc, the maid of Orleans? This much is clear that this girl did not derive any ulterior advantage from her obsession and completely forgot every thing about it, the moment she regained her senses.

Cholera patients in the villages are given water freely. People put a wrapping on their heads to keep them warm. The nests of Kumarapoka, a kind of insect that makes earthen nests on the

door-sills and corners of rooms, are boiled in water and administered to the patient at regular intervals. Old *kunji* or fermented rice-water that has been kept under earth for a long time is also given to the patients. Powdered barley corn mixed with water and boiled into a very thin solution is given as a diet.

The dead bodies of cholera patients are not cremated. They are thrown on the village waste or on the river bank. This is a very bad practice. Cholera is a water-borne disease, and if the dead bodies are dumped on the river bank, the water is sure to be polluted.

The laws of hygiene have yet to be learnt by the villagers. They should get a thorough training in the matter of prevention of highly infectious diseases like cholera and small-pox. The houses of villagers are not quite unclean. They would be better able to combat the epidemics, if they knew how they spread. Their ignorance on the subject seems to be quite abysmal at the present moment. The Government and also all popular organisations should try to remove this dead weight of ignorance of ages.

SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, M.A., B.L.  
Cuttack.

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the April (1927) number of *Man*, Dr. J. H. Hutton, contributes an interesting article on *The Disposal of the Dead at Wakching*, a village of the Konyak Naga tribe in the Naga Hills. The body of the deceased is carefully wrapped in leaves of the thatching palm and put among the boughs of a tree called *nyie*, of which there are six ordinarily in use associated with and situated near the respective 'morungs' of the clans using them. Outside the village, on one of the main approaches to it, a rail is put up, against which a few bamboos are leant forming a sort of very thin screen or shelter, possibly intended originally to protect the soul. In front of it a wooden figure of a man is set, for the soul to inhabit temporarily. After nine days when the body is sufficiently decomposed for the head to be detached, the skull is cleaned by the children of the deceased, or, failing them, by some other relatives. The cleaned skull is put in the village cemetery in a conical receptacle of sand-stone with an arched recess hollowed out on one side to take the skull. The stones are grouped without any definite orientation. The shape of the stones suggests a derivation from the male organ of generation, and persons desirous of having children perform ceremonies over one of these stones. Dr. Hutton is of opinion that this Wakching practice seems definitely to confirm the theory that the soul is lodged in a phallic menhir for purposes of

fertilization, and that it also suggests a possible origin for the cavities hollowed out at the foot of certain upright stones at Jaumguri and Horupani.

In the July number of *Man*, Dr. Hutton criticises the inaccurate use made by Mr. Perry in his 'Children of the Sun' of certain evidence from the Naga hills.

In the Anthropological Number of the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, (Vol. XXI, 1925, no. 4) issued in May, 1927, is published an article on the 'Folklore and Customs of the Lap-chas of Sikkim' by C. De Beauvoir Stocks. A number of tales consisting of Creation myths, Zoological myths, heroic tales and miscellaneous tales, are given. From an analysis of the folk-tales the author shows that they are almost devoid of anything original, and that not only the ideas but the separate motives may be traced elsewhere. An account is also given of Lap-cha customs relating to family life, birth, marriage, death and burial and miscellaneous observances.

In the March (1927) number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, the Editor of *Man in India* contributes an article on *The Bull-roarer in India*.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for April, 1927, Rev. H. Heras contributes an article on *Asoka's Dharma (morality) and Religion*, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram writes on *The Sanctity of the Cow in India*, Mr. B. A. Saltore describes *Cock-fighting in Tuluva*, and Prof. S. C. Mitra continues his *Studies in Bird-Myths*.

In the *American Journal of Sociology* for March, 1927, Prof. Albert James Saunders, contributes an interesting article on *The Sourashtra Community in Madura*. In this sociological study of the Sourashtra community of silk-weavers in the city of Madura, the author traces the migrations of the community from their original home in Gujerat in the north of the Bombay Presidency successively through the kingdoms of Malwa, Devagiri, and Vijayanagar until they finally settled in Madura. The cultural life of this community of silk-thread weavers and dyers is considered briefly, such subjects as caste, religion, marriage and social customs, being dealt with. A brief outline is given of their economic organization and conditions. The study concludes with a few words in the nature of retrospect and prospect. The retrospect shows a people, driven by persecution from their ancestral home, and after many wanderings finding a hospitable kingdom which allowed them freedom and an opportunity to live their own life. In following their own occupation and religion, in this new home, they have not only increased in numbers, affluence, and influence but have also contributed largely to the wealth and progress of their patron city. Political pressure from without has produced a *esprit de corps* which characterizes the motives and attitudes of all their people; economic pressure from without has likewise resulted in community organization for the purpose of community betterment, such as the *Sabha* and the Co-operative Society. The retrospect shows a people gradually rising to a higher economic



and social status, but still carrying along with them many of the old practices and caste restrictions which are hindering their complete emancipation from the past and fullest preparation for the future. The prospect, the author thinks, is good if the community will realize the importance of working along a definite policy of general education for their children, and co-operative buying and selling through a co-operative store, and lending and borrowing through a co-operative credit society. Greater Government initiative in the realm of industrial improvement is also needed.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Origin of Education among Primitive Peoples.—**  
*By W. D. Hambly, B. Sc. With a preface by Dr. Charles Hose. (Macmillan, 1926) PP. XX + 432. Price 25 s. net.*

This is a valuable piece of research-work which will be warmly welcomed not only by the student of anthropology all over the world but by the administrator, the social reformer and the missionary and school-master in backward tracts and among undeveloped tribes. In five chapters headed respectively, Child Welfare and the Decline of Primitive Races, the General Education of Boys in Preparation for Tribal Life; the Training of Boys for specified Functions in Tribal Life; Preparation of Girls for General and Specialised functions of Tribal Life, and the Moral Training of Children by Indirect Methods; and Abstract Principles and Puberty Rites, the author has presented a mass of most valuable data regarding primitive customs relating to moral, religious, physical and social education.

The student will follow the author with great interest and profit along the tortuous paths of migration, development and decline of educational ideals and methods, which he has traced in these pages; and the school-master, social reformer and administrator will be guided to a sound foundation on which to build a superstructure of sound educational, social, moral and legal systems for the

advancement of backward peoples. As the author rightly observes, "the so-called backward races have proved themselves to be educationists, teachers, psychologists and disciplinarians of no mean order; though they have graduated only in the academy of nature, whose school-master is a stern discipline of natural consequences", and "the educationist of to-day may profit by the mistakes of primitive man, while at the same time he may find ideals worthy of emulation".

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**A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Island Languages.**—By S. H. Ray, M. A. (*Cantab.*), F. R. A. I. (*Cambridge University Press, 1926*). PP. XVI+598. Price—30 s. net.

This is undoubtedly a work of first-rate importance, written by the greatest living authority on the subject. Since the the pioneer work on 'Melanesian Languages' by Dr. Codrington, published in 1885, Mr. Ray has been engaged in first-hand researches in Melanesian philology and from time to time published some of his results. In the present volume the author has more fully utilised the results of previous work, mostly his own, and has furnished anthropologists and philologists with the only comprehensive standard work on the subject. Part I of the book gives a brief sketch of the early records of Melanesian speech, the comparative study of Melanesian, the representation of sounds, the comparison of Indonesian and Melanesian, the root in Melanesian, word-formation

in Melanesian, and Indonesian Grammar in Melanesia. In Part II, the author gives the grammars of the languages of the different groups of the Melanesian Islands with the exception of those of Bank's Islands, North-Eastern New Hebrides, Florida, Guadalcanar or Bugotu, which are given by Dr. Codrington, and of a few dialects of the Solomons which have been described by Dr. Ivens, and the grammar of San Critoval which is being dealt with by Dr. Fox. Mr. Ray's researches show that the languages of Melanesia, though exhibiting certain outstanding common features of Indonesian grammar, present wide differences in grammatical detail. In vocabulary, too, most of the Melanesian languages appear to possess a common stock of Indonesian words, variously modified in the different islands which exhibit also a wide diversity in the rest of their respective vocabularies. From these common traces of Indonesian influence in vocabulary and grammar and the great variation in extent to which the Melanesian islanders have changed Indonesian words, the author infers that "the Melanesian languages were originally of variant stocks, and that their apparent uniformity has been brought about by the influx of Indonesian words and idioms." As the author observes, the subject is worth further inquiry, and the scientific world will eagerly await the publication of the vocabularies and the results of further research from the indefatigable and gifted author of this volume who is the greatest living specialist in Melanesian and Oceanic linguistics.

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**Science and the Modern World.**—By A. N. Whitehead, F. R. S., Sc. D. (Cambridge), Hon. D. Sc. (Manchester), Hon. LL. D. (St. Andrews, Cambridge University Press; 1926). PP. XII+304. Price—12s. 6d. net. (Popular Edition 8 s. 6 d. net).

This is a thought-provoking book written by a profound scholar and thinker. The book, which in the main consists of eight Lowell Lectures delivered in February last year, has with some slight expansion and additions, been divided into thirteen chapters headed as follows:—I. The Origins of Modern Science, II. Mathematics as an Element in the History of Thought, III. The Century of Genius, IV. The Eighteenth century, V. The Romantic Reaction, VI. The Nineteenth Century, VII. Relativity, VIII. The Quantum Theory, IX. Science and Philosophy, X. Abstraction, XI. God, XII. Religion and Science, and XIII. Requisites for Social Progress. The book is not only an illuminating study of some aspects of Western Culture during the past three centuries, in so far as these have been influenced by the development of Science;—besides giving an account of the origin and development of the fundamental scientific scheme that has held its ground during the past three centuries, the learned author sketches an alternative scheme or world-view which, he thinks may serve as a basis for the science of the future. In this alternative philosophy of science, ‘*organism* takes the place of *matter*, *co-operation* takes the place of *antagonism*.’ Although some of his conclusions may have to be revised or modified in the light

of further research, the book is a most valuable contribution to scientific thought.

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**A Short History of Marriage.**—By *Edward Westermarck, Ph. D., Hon. LL. D. (Aberdeen)* (*Macmillan, 1926*) PP. 326. Price 10 s. 6 d. net.

This book is based on the fifth edition of Dr. Westermarck's standard work on the *History of Human Marriage* with which every student of anthropology must be familiar. The present shorter work deals with marriage as a social institution in the strict sense of the term, and thus various other topics discussed in the larger volumes have been omitted. To beginners in the study of social anthropology the book will be of invaluable assistance; and the general reader, too, will find the book of great interest.

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**Through Liberia.**—By *Lady Dorothy Mills.* (*Duckworth, 1926*) PP. 240. Price—15 s. net.

In this book we have a first-hand account of the author's adventurous journey through the hitherto unexplored tractless forests and strange isolated tribes of the West African republic of Liberia. This vivid record of her perilous journey gives the reader a hurried glimpse into the climatic and other conditions of life and the strange savage population of the interior of Liberia. The popula-

tion has been divided by African experts into three main tribes, with numerous sub-divisions, — the Pessis, the Mandigoes and the Kroos. Although the book does not advance our knowledge of the ethnology and sociology of the people to any appreciable extent, it gives us a vivid account of the land they inhabit and the conditions in which they live. In the chapter headed 'Among the human Leopards', Lady Dorothy Mills speaks of the society of "Human Leopards" of the Liberian hinterland. She leans tentatively to the theory that "possibly the organization was originally based on some superstitious beliefs or on some sort of witchcraft that time may have modified or obliterated, and now, when civilization has ruthlessly stamped on a cherished and time-honoured form of diet, has survived as a measure and method of protective secrecy in those in whom the old inherited lust dies hard". The membership of the society is a profound secret even to the rest of the village or community. Of the method by which these "Human Leopards" kill their victims or whether there are any rites or ceremonies attached, the author could obtain no details. The general reader will find the book intensely interesting, and a perusal of the book, in his leisure hours, may prepare the student better for the study of Liberian ethnology and sociology.

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**The Fire of Desert Folk.**—By *Ferdinand Ossendowski*. *English Text by Lewis Stanton Palen*. (*George Allen and Unwin Ltd*; 1926). PP. 312. Price 16 s. net.

This is another interesting and informative book of travels. In this record of his journey from Oran in Algeria to Casablanca on the west coast of Morocco, the author gives us his impressions of the people of the land (Morocco), their history, traditions and legends, political and racial conditions, religion (Islam) and superstitions. The book will well repay perusal.

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**The Worship of Nature**, Vol. I.—By *Sir James G. Frazer*, O. M., F. R. S., F. B. A. (*Macmillan*, 1926). PP. XXVI+672. Price 25 s. net.

This volume includes the whole of the Gifford Lectures delivered by the author before the University of Edinburgh in the years 1924 and 1925, and contains much additional matter besides. The book is divided into sixteen chapters. The Introductory Chapter is followed by four Chapters dealing with the Worship of the Sky among, respectively, the Aryan peoples of antiquity, the non-Aryan peoples antiquity, the civilized peoples of the Far East, and the people of Africa. Then follow six chapters dealing with the worship of the Earth among, respectively, the Aryan peoples of antiquity, the non-Aryan peoples of antiquity, the Chinese people,

the people<sup>o</sup> of Modern India, the people of Africa, and the American Indians; the remaining chapters deal with the worship of the Sun among, respectively, the Aryan peoples of antiquity, the non-Aryan peoples of antiquity, the people of Modern India, the Japanese people, and the Indonesians. In the Appendix a new African version, besides those referred to in the text, of the story of the Fall of Man is given.

As in other works of Sir James Frazer, in this volume, too, the illustrious author, with his characteristic patience has collated and marshalled all available data relating to the religion of ancient and backward races in all parts of the globe. The natural religion of the primitive peoples fall into two branches, the worship of Nature which is based on the personification of natural phenomena, and the worship of the Dead which rests on the assumption of their existence and of their power to influence the living for good or evil. The worship of the Dead is being exhaustively dealt with in another work of which three volumes have been already published. The worship of Nature is being dealt with as exhaustively in the present work of which a second volume we expect to review in a future issue. The present work, together with the author's splendid volumes on *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, will for long remain the indispensable companions of every student of comparative religion.

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**The Diffusion of Culture.**—By R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc, (Cambridge University Press, 1927). PP. 38. Price 1 s. 6 d.

We heartily welcome the publication of this Frazer Lecture in Social Anthropology for the year 1927. The Lecture begins with a brilliant refutation of the unfair attack of Prof. Elliot Smith against the pioneer anthropological work of Tylor and the solid contributions of Sir James Frazer to anthropological science. Dr. Marett exposes the hollowness of this type of diffusionist criticism which is "so destitute of the historic sense as to lose sight of the fact that the sole virtue of a scientific theory consists in being 'sufficient unto the day'." No reader of Tylor's book, particularly of *Primitive Culture* with its vast array of evidence lucidly digested, can charge Tylor with having defied the known facts and scamped the preliminary induction on which his theory rested. And as for the author of *The Golden Bough*, "the collection of facts amounts almost to a foible" with him. Whereas Prof. Elliot Smith himself seeks to raise upon the narrow basis of some single plausible identification, "a towering structure of analogies as top-heavy as an inverted pyramid", Sir James Frazer, on the other hand, in the true spirit of research, forms a working hypothesis suggested by one or more sets of facts, and proceeds to test such facts by comparison with the results of previous and subsequent investigations, which he has been always collecting with indefatigable industry, and, whenever subsequent disagreements show the need for

revision, modification or abandonment of a theory, no scientific investigator has been more ready than the author of *Totemism and Exogamy* and *The Golden Bough* to revise, modify and abandon a theory. As Dr. Marett says, "Of all the great pioneers of Anthropology, Sir James Frazer has been the foremost in proclaiming the purely provisional character of his working principles. Not to speak of that drastic reconstruction of the theoretical framework which caused the second Edition of *The Golden Bough* when it replaced the first to read almost like a different work, I know nothing in the history of science more dramatic, and at the same time more indicative of the true spirit of research, than the *Peripeteia* that awaits one in the third edition." There is nothing in Sir James Frazer's work like the rash generalization which, heedless of the vast gaps in the historical record makes the earliest conception of a deity arise out of the beliefs connected with the cowrie shell of which the shape is suggestive of the female principle.

Dr. Marett in his brilliant and incisive style further exposes the one-sided bias and exaggeration with which Prof. Elliot Smith has been flourishing his extreme diffusionist theory as the be-all and end-all of cultural anthropology. The author administers a much-needed castigation to the premature diffusionist dogmatism which points out Egypt as the fountain-head and creator of civilization throughout the world.

The objection of Dr. Marett, as of most other anthropologists, is not to the value of the diffu-

sionist method when employed within its legitimate limits, but to "the claim made for it as capable of taking sole and entire charge of the study of man". As Dr. Marett pertinently observes, although Prof. Elliot Smith would not allow that the same invention could be made twice over, his own theory would break down without a precisely similar assumption of the psychic unity of mankind, for even if Egypt "by a happy or unhappy fluke" invented civilization, how was the rest of the world induced to adopt it when invented? Thus, according to the diffusionist theory, says Dr. Marett, "mankind, at any rate, apart from the unique Egyptians, had enough psychic unity to be as clay in the hands of a potter!"

In fact, as Dr. Marett points out in this Lecture, and as the late Dr. Rivers in spite of his latter-day diffusionist bias, held, the last word in anthropology lies with the psychologist, and the psychological method of interpretation of cultural phenomena "when used with due precautions as a hypothetical bridge, can lead to the detection of fresh particulars of the same kind by enabling their real character to be recognized". In this Lecture, Dr. Marett has successfully refuted, so far as possible within the limits of a short Lecture, the diffusionists' claim that their theory affords a full explanation of the nature of culture and that there is no other point of view from which that nature as revealed by history can be profitably studied. Dr. Marett would rightly place

the diffusionist argument in its place as part of a more comprehensive and complex apparatus of research. If properly used, the diffusionist method, as Dr. Marett points out, "seems to be both suitable and likely to promote research on helpful lines, even if the ultimate effect of such a process of verification be to cause it to break down."

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### **Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages.—**

*Edited by A. P. Newton, M. A., D. Litt., B. Sc., F. S. A. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. London. 1926). Pp. VIII+223.*

This is another excellent book of that valuable "History of Civilization" series edited by Mr. C. K. Ogden, of which we reviewed a few volumes in previous issues. The present volume is a valuable contribution to the history of travel. In the essays collected in this volume we are given vivid glimpses of the way in which the men of the Latin West between the 5th and the 15th centuries gradually modified their conceptions of the physical world in which they lived. These contributions from eminent experts are arranged in roughly chronological order, and each essay discusses in some detail the concepts of the world and the conditions of travel and exploration of a particular period or associated with particular sources of ideas which have made material additions to the development of thought and knowledge. The ten essays which make up this volume respectively

deal with— The conception of the World in the Middle Ages, the Decay of Geographical knowledge and the Decline of Exploration (A. D. 300-500), Christian Pilgrimages (A. D. 500-800), The Viking Age, Arab Travellers and Merchants (A. D. 1000-1500), Trade and Communication in Eastern Europe (A. D. 800-1200), The Opening of the Land Routes to Cathay, Travellers' Tales of Wonder and Imagination and European Travellers in Africa in the Middle Ages, Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia, and The Search for the Sea-route to India. The book will prove a most useful and interesting study for the student and scholar as well as for the general reader.

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**People of the Veil.**—By Francis Rennell Rodd. (Macmillan, 1926). PP. XVI+504. Price—30 s. net.

In this volume we have an interesting account of the habits, organization and history of the wandering Tuareg tribes which inhabit the Mountains of Air or Asben in Central Sahara, where the author made a journey of nine months in the year 1922 with Angus Buchanan the author of *Out of the World—North of Nigeria*. The greatest role in history of the Tuareg who were the caravan drivers of the Central Sahara was that they brought a certain degree of civilisation from the Mediterranean to Equatorial Africa. The Tuareg are a Libyan people who were in North Africa long before the Arabs came. They have been



there ever since the earliest times of which we have any historical record, though in more northern as well as western areas than those which they now occupy. They are really not a tribe but a people. They are nomads by instinct and, save where much intermarriage has taken place, of the same racial type. Mr. Rodd thinks that there is no justification for considering them a large tribal group of Berbers in North Africa; they are, he thinks, a separate race with marked peculiarities, distinct from other sections of the Berbers, and of a different origin. The name "Tuareg" is not their own but a term of opprobrium applied to them by their enemies; it connotes certain peculiarities possessed by a number of tribal confederations which have no common name for themselves as a race. The men of this people (but not the women), after reaching a certain age (from about 20 to 25 years), wear long strips of indigo cloth called the "Tagilmus" or veil around their heads in such a manner as to form a hood over their eyes and a covering over the mouth and nostrils; only a narrow slit is left open for the eyes, and no other part of the face is visible. In this veil the men live and sleep. They lift up the "imawal" or lower part of the veil to eat but in doing so hold their hand before the mouth. When the veil requires re-fixing, a man will disappear behind a bush to conceal his features even from his own family. This habit of veiling the men's faces is as typical of the Tuaregs as their cross-hilted sword, their cross-pommelled saddle, their Tifnagh

script and the high status and prerogatives of their women. In each group of Tuareg tribes (the grouping being either geographical or historical), the existence of nobles and serfs is recognised. The nobles are called Imajeghan, the servile people Imghad, but no name other than Kel Tagilmus or the "People of the Veil" exists to describe the people as a whole, the society of nobles and serfs alike, irrespective of group or caste. A general account of the history and migrations, tribal organisation and government, social conditions, mode of life, trade and occupations, architecture and art, religion and beliefs of this most interesting people and the topography of the country they inhabit, is presented in this interesting narrative of the author's tour of nine months in Central Sahara. The interest of the book is enhanced by a number of excellent plates, maps and diagrams.

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**Ancient Cities and Modern Tribes.**—By Thomas Gann, J. P., F. R. G. S., F. R. A. I., Member of the Maya Society, (Duckworth 1926). PP. 256. Price 21 s. net.

In this most interesting volume, Dr. Gann, who is one of the greatest living authorities on the mysterious Maya people and the equally mysterious ruins left by them in Central America, records his expeditions during which a vast Maya ruined city was discovered connected by a gigantic

causeway of cut stone to the ancient social and religious centre of Chichen-Itza, fifty miles distant. The immense underground chamber of Loltun or the 'Cave of stone flowers'—a world in itself—is described in the volume under review together with the new work performed at the ruins of Copean in Spanish Honduras, on the largest sundial in the world and its revelations, at Chichen-Itza, the sacred aboriginal Toltec city of the plumed serpent god, and at the mysterious and as yet undated city Lubaantun. The book is one of absorbing interest from cover to cover, as much to the archæologist and the anthropologist as to the general man of culture. The interest of this most attractive volume is enhanced by the numerous excellent illustrations.

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**Intercourse between India and the Western World from the earliest times to the Fall of Rome.**—*By H. G. Rawlinson, M. A., I. E. S. (Cambridge University Press, second Edition; 1926). PP. VII+196. Price 8 s. 6 d. net.*

In this volume we have a concise account of an interesting chapter of early Indian history which has so far not been dealt with comprehensively in any single previous volume in English. A map of ancient India, besides a few illustrations and an exhaustive index and bibliography, adds to the usefulness of the work. The book will be a welcome addition to the library of every student of Indian history.

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**Imhotep.**—By Jamieson B. Hurry, M. A. M. D.  
(Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford. 1926)  
pp. XVI+118. Price. 7s. 6d. net.

In this very interesting book, Dr. Hurry relates the fascinating story of Imhotep from the time of his dramatic appearance as Vizier and magician physician of King Zoser a Pharaoh of the 3rd Dynasty (circa 2980-2900 B. C.) to his elevation first to the rank of a medical demi-god and finally as late as 525 B. C. to the rank of one of the full Egyptian deities as the Egyptian god of medicine. Nothing of the early history of Imhotep is available. From such scanty details as are available, an account is given in this book of Imhotep as Grand Vizier, as Architect, as Chief Lector Priest, as Sage and Scribe, as Astronomer and as Magician. It was to the original genius of Imhotep that the first use of stone instead of brick, for building purposes in Egypt is said to be due. It is, however the apotheosis and worship of this magician-physician which is of special interest to the anthropologist. The worship of Imhotep extended well into the Roman period. The deification of Imhotep, as the author points out, proves that the Egyptians believed it possible for gods to be evolved out of common mortals. According to Egyptian belief, provided the descendants of a deceased person continued to nourish and comfort and thus keep alive the *Ka* or double of a man by actual bread, meat, and drink and other necessary supplies and generous gifts and endowments in the same manner as was done in the case of a god, the

continued existence of the *Ka* would be assured. The Greeks amalgamated Imhotep (or Imouthes, as they called him) with their own Asklepios (Aesculapius) and during the Ptolemaic period there seems to have been some relation between the worship of Imhotep and that of the sacred bull of Ptah named Apis. The worship of Imhotep at Memphis seems to have lingered on until the process of national dissolution of the ancient Egyptian was far advanced.

In Chapter V, we have an interesting, though brief, account of ancient Egyptian medicine with which incantations and magical practices were indissolubly connected. Certain incantations appear to have been recited during the preparation of a medicine in order to endow it with the right power, and a different formula was recited as the invalid swallowed the dose. Another common magical practice was to write down an incantation on papyrus, to wash it off into the medicine, and then to administer the latter to the patient. The ancient Egyptian view of a disease as being in reality a demoniacal possession is clearly brought out by the expression used by ancient Egyptian physicians regarding their prescriptions: They would say "Prescription for expelling or terrifying such and such a disease" instead of "Prescription for curing such and such a disease." As diseases are caused by the pernicious influence of an indwelling spirit they must be combated by magic, incantation and spells, although remedies might also relieve symptoms and abolish pain. Rational therapeutics

and magic were thus closely interwoven in the practice of the magician-physician. The author thinks that Imhotep, with his wide outlook on life, his experience of men and human affairs, and his interest in astronomy and other sciences, must have been inclined to the side of scientific medicine.

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**Outlines of Indian Constitutional History (British Period).**—By *W. A. J. Archbold, M. A., LL. B.* (*P. S. King & Son. London. 1926*). *PP. 366. Price 18 S. net.*

This brief but lucid sketch of Indian constitutional history from the beginning of the British connection with India till the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, will serve as a useful hand-book for all students of Indian History and Politics. The book is divided into ten chapters as follows:—I. The Early days of the East India Company, II. The Early Settlements, III. The Acquisition of Territory, IV. The Regulating Act, V. Pitt's India Bill, VI. The Last Days of the Company, VII. The Law Courts, VIII. The Councils, IX. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, X. The Government of India Bill (1919). In the Appendices are given a list of early charters, extracts from the Seventh Report (dated May 6th, 1773) from the Committee of secrecy appointed to inquire into the state of the E. I. Company,

a letter (dated October 16, 1830) from Sir Charles Grey and Sir Edward Ryan regarding the Supreme Courts in India, and the Government of India Act, 1915, and the Amending Act of 1916. An exhaustive bibliography and index complete the volume. In a Postscript the author indicates his views regarding the Montagu-Chelensford Reforms and the probable future of Indian administration. These Reforms, as the author points out, did not meet the wants of any of the parties in India, and presented many obvious defects. "They were designed to teach Indians the art of government without risking any great injury to the administrative fabric of the country. That, however, as both reflection and experience will show, is an impossible task. There can be no true political training without serious responsibility, and it was just because that sense of responsibility was wanting that the Indians felt that the Reforms were unreal". As regards future developments, Mr. Archbold with sympathetic foresight suggests,—  
"The further British India progresses on the path towards self-government the more important does it become for her to take the lead in uniting the whole country in some well-designed federal system. It is not only important that this should be done; it is absolutely necessary, because the granting of self-government implies an entirely new relation between British India and the Native states. The student who ponders over the past history of India with its wonderful wealth of legend, and its equally



wonderful story of sacrifice and progress, will have but ill learned the lesson that it teaches if he despairs of the future. It is true that directly the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was announced the old India, that is to say the old system of administration, was doomed; much of the present confusion and alarm is due to that fact. But the real India that matters, remains, and the constitution of the future will gradually be framed so as to meet its various needs. There will be gain as well as loss. We can but hope that the gain will be worth the effort that will have to be made."

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**Conditions of Social Welfare.**— *By John Bowen, (The C. W. Daniel Company. London, 1926). PP. 127. Price 3 s. 6 d. net.*

In this book, the author makes an earnest and well-considered attempt to solve the poverty problem. Mr. J. Bowen attempts to show that wages, interest and rent, as well as every other form of income that is competitively (not arbitrarily) determined, conform to one and the same economic law. "If we only accept competition as a guide to economic operations, to saving, to vocational training, and to the increase or renewal of population, and reject it or at least over-rule it as a guide to the division of money that is to be allowed for spending, we shall get all the good that is in it and avoid all its evil".

The author attempts to show how competition makes a perfect production of commodities and of productive powers (capital) possible. According to our author, in order to attain the greatest possible benefit from competition, the State must see—(1) that a proper amount of the annual income is saved, (2) that the amount that is to be spent is properly divided, and (3) that every class of the community increases at a rate that is conducive to the highest well-being of the whole. Mr. J. Bowen would adopt a graduated scale of expenditure-tax and by taxing the higher expenditures would direct the money so obtained as wage subsidies among those whose wages are low. Although our author's solution of the problem of unemployment may not recommend itself to most economists, the book is well worth perusal and serious consideration.

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**The Medieval Village.**— *By G. G. Coulton, M. A. (Camb.), Hon. D. Litt. (Cambridge University Press, 1926). PP. XXX+603. Price 25s. net.*

The student of social history will find this remarkable volume one of absorbing interest. Dr. Coulton's illuminating account of the social and economic conditions of the Medieval village is based on solid documentary evidence and should serve as a model for all writers on social history. The author has laid under contribution all available original documents bearing on the subject and has used them with wise discrimination and profound

critical insight. The modern labourer Dr. Coulton concludes, is better off even materially than medieval peasants, and "incomparably superior in social, political and religious liberty ; but this should not make us forget that the kingdom of Heaven is within a man". The medieval peasant was what he was, and the modern is what he is, partly because the sifting process of civilization has left him at the bottom, but partly also because luckier folk have pushed him down. His annals are short and simple; the ploughman does not wade through slaughter to a throne, but all the cruellest elements of tragedy may be found in his village.....There was much real neighbourly kindness ; but there were also desperate jealousies and feuds, with crimes which seem all the more sordid when so little is at stake. The medieval peasant shows us mankind in the making, human nature in its elementary aspects. If we try to reckon up the things which he most truly enjoyed, we shall find that all or nearly all are common to all countries and ages—earth's bosom, the sun and clouds and rain, the inexhaustible love and endurance of the human heart.. .....We cannot escape from the significance of that public judgment, all the more damning because of its impersonal and unconscious character, which has transmuted *villanus* into *villain*, and *Bauer* into *boor*. Polite speech, as early as the thirteenth century, used the word *village* to characterize coarseness of thought and deed." The book is an invaluable contribution to the social history of the Middle Ages.

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**Anthroposophy in India.**—By Dr. Hans Koester  
(*Thacker Spink, Calcutta 1927.*) PP. 44.

The four lectures, collected in this booklet under the name of Anthroposophy were, the author tells us, "intended for those here in India who study and venerate the spiritual depths of ancient Indian culture" As to the scope of 'Anthrophosophy', Dr. Hans Koester tells us, "Anthrosophy affirms that there are in man hidden and dormant forces that can be awakened. It explains that the thinking faculties developed in ordinary life do not suffice to transcend the limit of common experience. Yet contrary to theosophical opinion which frequently discards those ordinary means of perception in favour of the development of the so-called higher organs of perception, Anthroposophy maintains that the logically precise and mathematically trained mind is a possession worth preserving since it embodies a technique which enables the thinker to become conscious of his own self. The consciousness of the Self, gained through thinking, becomes the basis of higher knowledge. It reveals itself as a volitional element of spiritually creative power that inspires thought. When this depth of the Self is reached then only is metaphysical speculation overcome and replaced by a truly intuitive perception". In this, our author says, "we find a realisation of truth which in fact is truly Indian although it is gained on an accidental basis and by an accidental method". Dr. Koester admits that "many truths which to Indians are inherited

possessions are now obtained in the West by a slow conquest". He adds, "As far as I can see, we have found in this for the first time a meeting-ground where India and Europe can join in the full realisation of their individualities. Such a meeting is only possible in true and clear self-consciousness". "The Indian seeker of spiritual truth experiences his own consciousness merging into that of cosmic consciousness, when he perceives the union of *Sat* and *Chit*, in a state of bliss, *Ananda*. What the spiritual bliss of *Ananda* is to the Indian, the spiritual reality of Free Will is to the Western mind". Anthroposophy, our author claims, "does not only emphasise spiritualisation of our inner life, but sets forth an exact science of initiation, of which every detail is elaborated with Western precision. After explaining the Philosophic Basis of Anthroposophy, the author proceeds in two chapters, headed respectively—"The Cosmic Man in Space", and 'The Cosmic Man in Time', to give an exposition of the Western Science of Initiation' founded by Dr. Rudolf Steiner. The last lecture deals with the *Spiritual Basis of Anthroposophy* or spiritual knowledge as it is realised in the West. Budding spiritual "consciousness", we are told, is produced by something feminine and masculine in man,—nothing sexual is meant, sexual in any case in the sense it is usually understood.....The sexual factor is dissolved into mere plus-minus, which in the oneness of the idea attains its true spiritual meaning. It is in this highly vital sense that the masculine-

feminine (Shiva-Shakti) within man truly is the creative condition for all higher knowledge. The figure of Ardhanārīśvara is the male-female human individual, man complete, who within himself has the signs and possibilities of both sexes". In the culture of Europe, says Dr. Koester, Shiva is active, but in that of the Indian and Eastern hemisphere, 'the Shakti forces still are at work', and 'kept apart from one another, both are led to annihilation. 'The masculinity of European progress by itself will rush into destruction the femininity of the East, not being fertilized, will lose productivity'.

In the preface, the author says that his object is not to please for any fusion of Indian spiritual culture with Western spiritual perceptions but "to make it clearly understood that the west in its own way" (apparently meaning, by the system introduced by Dr. Rudolf Steier the founder of 'Anthroposophy'), can reach as great a depth as was sounded by spiritual India".

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# MAN IN INDIA.

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## I. A NEGRITO SUBSTRATUM IN THE POPULATION OF ASSAM. \*

By DR. J. H. HUTTON, M.A., D.SC., LL.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

In a recent important work on the *Peoples of Asia*, Mr. Dudley-Buxton has asserted that there seems to be no evidence of any Negrito blood on the Eastern Frontier of India. <sup>1</sup> It is the purpose of this short paper to indicate what evidence there actually may be for the existence in the past of a substratum of Negrito population in Assam. This evidence, such as it is, may roughly be divided into three heads—physical, cultural and traditional.

The Negrito race is ulotrichous, having short crisp woolly hair growing close to the head, and one of the effects of interbreeding with leiotrichous races appears to be frizzy hair standing up off the head in stiffish spiral wisps such as is commonly seen in Fiji, where the population is of mixed Melanesian and Polynesian origin. Now in the Naga Hills specimens of more or less ulotrichous

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\* This paper was read at the anniversary meeting of the *Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti* in Gauhati, March, 1927.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in a review in *Man in India*, Vol. vi., P. 218.



hair are to be seen with some frequency in certain areas. Although decidedly uncommon among the Angami, Sema and Lhota tribes, instances of even closely curled woolly hair do occur; further north among the Aos they are comparatively common, and among the Phoms of Konyaks, further north still, are met with frequently. So again in the Kaohha Naga country, and more particularly in the North Cachar Hills, woolly-headedness seems to increase towards the south, and the Thado Kukis have a fair sprinkling of individuals with a tendency to prognathous and somewhat Negrito looking features. The traditions of the Angamis and of related tribes show that the most recent element in these tribes migrated from the south-east, coming up from what is now the territory of Manipur State, and entering the Naga Hills north-east of the Barail range, spread out fan-wise, no doubt driving out very many of the former occupants of the country, but absorbing others. The greater frequency of frizzy hair in the north and in the south of the district suggests, therefore, that the former occupants had a greater infusion of ulotrichous blood than the later immigrants, and that its sporadic occurrence in the Angami country, for instance, has been again handed on by the population found there and absorbed into the Angami invaders. Another possible indication of the presence of Negrito blood in the Naga Hills is to be seen in the prevalence of yaws, which has a distribution roughly conterminous with that of frizzy hair,

while the stature of Nagas is also noticeably lower in the Ao, Phom and Konyak countries, than among the Angami, Sema and Lhotas.

Culturally the indications of a former Negrito population are more doubtful. There is among Nagas generally an intense dislike of  or even wavy hair, which I attribute to its being associated with a people regarded as hostile or as inferior. Possessors of frizzly hair are always subject to ridicule, and they often attempt to disguise it by trying to grease it flat. I am also inclined to attribute to similar motive the habit of distending the lobe of the ear which is so common in this area, as a small ear is typical of the Negrito type in Malaya.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the use of the simple bow, as distinct from the cross-bow, is of Negrito origin in this area. It survives as a toy among the Semas and Angamis, and is used as a weapon by Khasis and by Thado Kukis, though the prevailing weapon of the area is the spear. In Malaya again as in the Philippines the bow is the national weapon of the Negrito tribes.<sup>3</sup>

Further, it has been suggested<sup>4</sup> that the practice of exposing the bodies of the dead on platforms is derived from the custom of disposing of the dead in trees, a custom very prevalent among the primitive tribes of Indonesia, who are

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<sup>2</sup> Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, I, 49, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Skeat and Blagden, *op. cit.*, II, 280; Sawyer, *Inhabitants of the Philippines*, 202, 207.

<sup>4</sup> Mosas. *Life after Death in Oceania*, XIII, 1.

largely of Negrito blood, and this custom of platform disposal is prevalent throughout the northern part of the Naga Hills, where, moreover, it is frequently the practice to dispose of those who die 'bad' or '*apodia*' deaths in trees. This suggests that the *apodia* death may be thought to be due to neglect of ancestral custom, which is therefore observed the more strictly, for the nonce, to avert the recurrence of catastrophe. Another possible link is to be found perhaps in the existence in Assam of a type of fish trap made in the shape of the framework of a conical basket to which the hooked thorns of cane are attached so that a fish entering it is unable to back out. Fish-traps of this type are found among some of the more northern tribes of Nagas, and among the Thado Kukis, and are also well-known in Melanesia <sup>5</sup>, and it is possible that the practice of painting parts of the body with a light grey clay on ceremonial occasions, which obtains among the Konyaks and the Kachha Nagas is also to be associated with Negrito blood; and just possibly also the same may apply to the belief in a perilous path which has to be passed by souls of the dead on their way to paradise, a belief wide-spread in Oceania and in Indonesia including the Andaman Islands. <sup>6</sup> It may be added that a belief in witch-craft is common in the Naga Hills, and that among the Angami, at any rate, witches, almost always women, are

<sup>5</sup> Balfour, *Thorn-lined Traps and their Distribution*, *MAN*, 1925, 21.

<sup>6</sup> See *The Ao Nagas*, P. 227,

frequently ulotrichous, while their lore is handed on from mother to daughter, suggesting that it has survived from women of some conquered race taken as wives or slaves by their invaders.

Finally there are definite traditions of contact with a more or less pygmy race. Several Naga tribes have traditions of jungle-dwelling men, caught and kept by them captives, who have founded clans still in existence. <sup>7</sup> The Konyaks had traditions of a "Monkey-folk" which preceded them, or rather preceded their predecessors the "Mopia" people, in the hills which the Konyaks now occupy. <sup>8</sup> The Thados, also have a tradition of contact with a pygmy race, short-haired and very active and formidable in war, though so small that they could travel in the paths made by wild pig in the jungle. They used to climb upon the roofs of houses at night and spear through the thatch, a method of attack still practised occasionally by the Sema Naga tribe. In the North Cachar Hills, also, the Kacharis have a tradition of a pygmy tribe, which lived in the forests and raided travellers, making the passage from Cachar to Dimapur so dangerous that a Kachari king of Maibang initiated a campaign against them and drove the remnant into a cave, the site of which is still shown, and destroyed them by blocking up the entrance. <sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See *The Sema Nagas*, P. 192; *The Angami Nagas*, P. 257; *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. xxi, 89, 90, 91.

<sup>8</sup> S. E. Peal, *Fading Histories*, J. A. S. B., 1894, i.

<sup>9</sup> I am indebted for this tradition to Mr. J. H. Orace, formerly S. D. O. of the N. Cachar Hills.

This tradition suggests that there was still a Negrito tribe, surviving under its old jungle-dwelling conditions, in Assam at as late a date as one of the Kachari kings.

Very much earlier are the traditions recorded by Megasthenes, Otesias and others, who probably drew on the Hindu accounts of the Uttarakurus, of dwarf races in the Himalayas, who were believed in some cases to have no mouths and to live on smells only, <sup>10</sup> and by Strabo, who says that they were brought to Chandra Gupta's court, <sup>11</sup> and by Pliny, who mentions in the same context <sup>12</sup> a Himalayan locality called Abarimon, which is no doubt a misunderstanding of the Assamese expression *Abari Manuh*.

On the above considerations I submit that Mr. Dudley-Buxton's assumption that there is no evidence of Negrito blood in north-east India is one which cannot be accepted without evidence, and that if the available material be properly studied it is not unlikely that the statement will have to be modified.

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<sup>10</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes*, (Calcutta 1926) pp. 72, 80, 143.

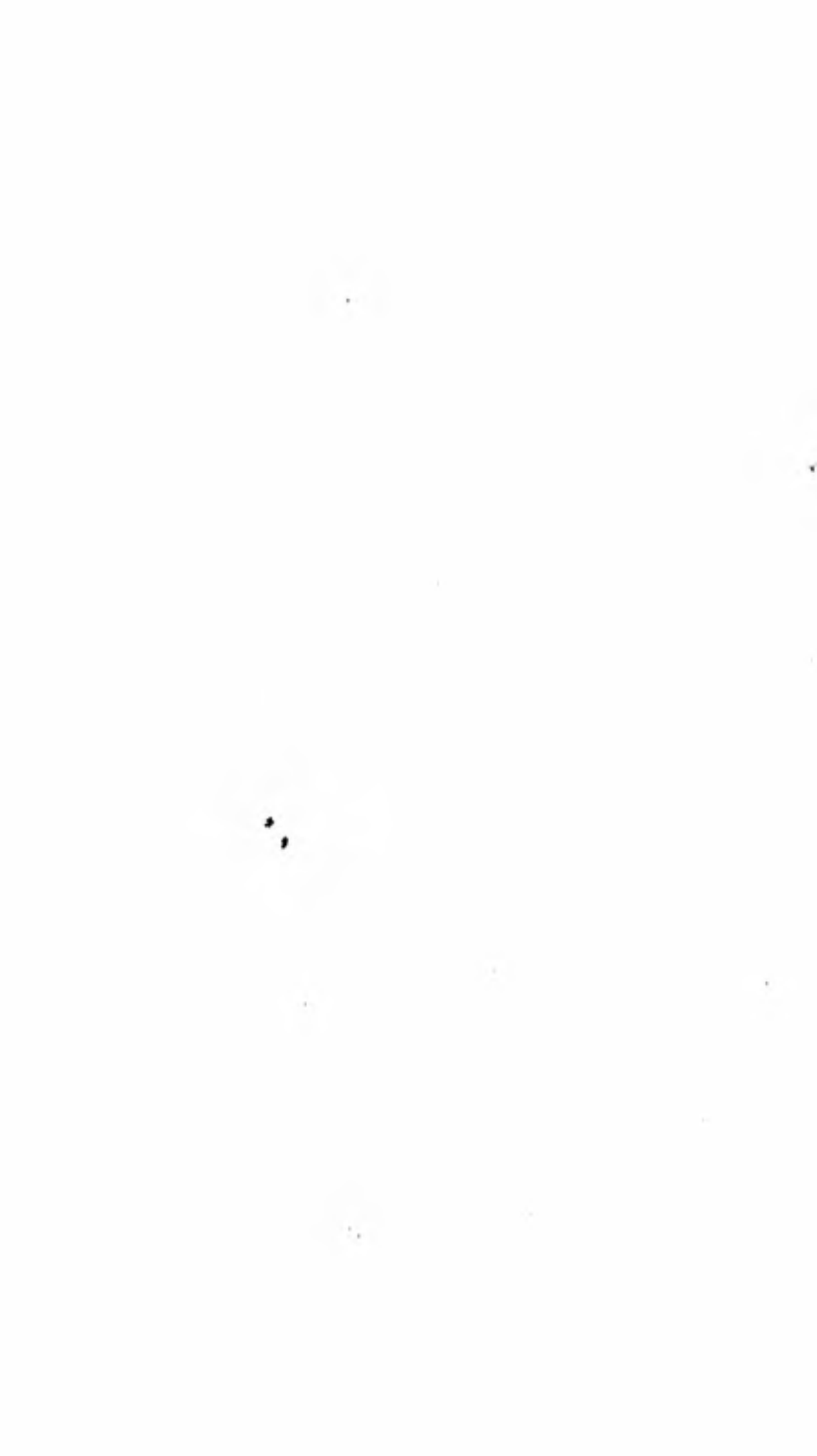
<sup>11</sup> *Geographia*, XV, p. 711.

<sup>12</sup> *Nat. Hist.* VII, ii.



A woolly-headed Angami Naga of  
Purobami village.







## II. THE CALENDAR OF THE ANGAMI NAGAS.

BY J. E. TANQUIST, B. A., B. D.

The Angamis, like other primitive tribes, have a very imperfect knowledge of astronomy. Yet they have for ages not failed to notice the regularity of the motions of the sun, the moon and the stars. And to them the 'lights in the firmament of heaven' have been 'for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years'.<sup>1</sup> The moon especially, as in the case of the Hebrews of old,<sup>2</sup> is regarded chiefly as a time-measurer. Some higher and mysterious power 'appointed the moon for seasons.'<sup>3</sup>

It can be said of the Angamis that they are a people well advanced in the earlier stage of agricultural development. Hence it is not surprising to find them in possession of the knowledge that the number of days between recurring new-moons is always approximately the same. Their year consists in the main of twelve lunar months, each moon being named in allusion to some agricultural activity, natural event, or other circumstance characteristic of the particular time of the season.

But there is no provision for counting days and years. In olden times no one knew how many days there were in a year, nor did anyone presume to be able to state his age in the term of years. The chief problem was that of keeping the twelve

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. 1: 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 431.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. 104: 19.

moon cycle within the bounds required by the ever-returning seasons and the significance of the names of the different months.

The month that usually (but not always) begins in January is, as its name implies, thought of as a period of transition from the old to the new agricultural year. If we take 1927 as an example, this moon begins about the 4th of January. In order to render comparison easier, other examples of month series mentioned hereinafter will be numbered so as to make the first one correspond to the one that falls in January. The Angami names have been recorded elsewhere; <sup>4</sup> so I will give only their meanings.

1. "The intervening month".
2. "The coming-low month", so named because of the return of the swallows to nest in people's houses and their flying low to enter through the doorway.
3. "The dusky month", on account of the smoke and haze that overhangs the country.
4. "The under-mining month," in allusion to the fact that, partly because of weeding and hoeing and partly because of strong winds at that season, the young *Job's tears* plants are apt to become under-mined and thus lose the necessary stability.
5. "The drowsy month," from the fact that one feels unusually tired and sleepy during the period of sultry weather immediately preceding

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<sup>4</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 197, 411.

and coincident with the breaking of the summer rains.

6. "The small-straddle month", descriptive of the way man stands while leisurely working in a field of millet or *Job's tears*.
7. "The large-straddle month," indicative of the posture of a man who in his water-cultivation straddles energetically and with his crooked hoe sends the mud a-flying backwards between his feet.
8. "The shooing month", named from an ejaculatory sound which corresponds to our interjection "shoo!", with reference to the fact that certain birds are at that time very destructive to early crops and the hillsides ring with the bird-frightening exclamation "chieu!" But in this as in other instances there has sprung up other, often less convincing, explanations. This particular word, with a natural growth from cause to effect, has come to mean "to startle", or "to be startled". And so, with a touch of Angami humour, the story goes that once a certain man absent-mindedly wandered into his seedling-plot at this late time of the season, but was suddenly awakened from his reverie by some one who mockingly asked him if he had not transplanted his rice yet. He was so startled and dumb-founded that he could not find a word wherewith to make answer. It is said that this incident was so much noised about and laughed at that this month came to be called "the startling month".

9. "The month of hilarity", in recognition of the joy of the very poor, who had come to the starvation-point when their meagre grain supplies were exhausted, but now have found present plenty from the early crops of their jungle fields. But this word also may easily be mistaken for another, especially when seen in print; for when the word is pronounced with a different stress it means "to wave". Hence the more sophisticated advance the opinion that the term has reference to "waving fields of grain", an idea that both satisfies poetic fancy and looks like a plausible explanation.
10. "The yellowing month", since the ripening grain in the terraced cultivations now takes on the colour of golden yellow.
11. "The brightening month", when the grain is ripe and the fields present a lightsome aspect.
12. "The commencement-of-ease month," for, from now on, the average villager can look forward to a protracted period of feasting and freedom from the drudgery of field work.

Before I give some further examples of similar descriptions in vogue in other tribes in this vicinity, the interpretations of which have, I believe, not yet been recorded, I wish to refer briefly to some that are on record.

The Lhota Nagas have their twelve lunar months named in a descriptive way. <sup>5</sup>

The Kachins name their months after trees

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<sup>5</sup> J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 226-227.

or flowers blossoming at certain seasons. <sup>6</sup>

The Melanesians name their different months "from what is done and what happens when the moon appears and while it lasts". <sup>7</sup>

The natives of the Loyalty Group use descriptive terms in naming the months. <sup>8</sup>

Among the Karens the calendar was poorly kept and the people do not agree among themselves as to the proper order of the months. But that is perhaps more or less true of many of the other tribes under discussion. Ten out of the twelve months retain their descriptive names. <sup>9</sup>

The two sets of Sema Naga months, <sup>10</sup> when interpreted, will no doubt yield up their interesting descriptive meanings.

From educated Thado Kukis I have ascertained that the names of their months given in their school primer are to be interpreted as follows:—

1. *Tolbol*. "Dust and dirt".
2. *Bulte*. "The blooming of the *bul* tree.
3. *Hlakao*. "The month of dry leaves".
4. *Hlatun*. "The month of garden sowing".
5. *Hlaphul*. "The month of violent work".
6. *Hladou*. "The month when *dou* grass blooms.
7. *Hlamul*. "The hairy month," since vegetation is as abundant as hair on the head.
8. *Hlazing*. "The thick month," when jungle is at its thickest.

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<sup>6</sup> O. Hanson, *The Kachins*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>7</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 349.

<sup>8</sup> E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*.

<sup>9</sup> H. I. Marshall, *The Karens*, p. 49.

<sup>10</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 261.

9. *Hlalam*. "The getting month", when poor people can satisfy their needs from the early fields.
10. *El-hla*. "The month of jocularity," all being in a merry mood over the first-fruits of grain.
11. *Phal-hla*. "The month of sheaves".
12. *Ol-hla*. "The month of rest".

I also have from educated Tangkhul Nagas the information that the meanings of their months, the names of which are published in one of their school primers, are as follows :—

1. *Khayon*. "Beginning".
2. *Tharao*. "Dry weather".
3. *Marun*. "Sowing", for seedlings.
4. *Mayo*. "Beauty", with reference to the pleasing aspect of nature's renewed attire of green.
5. *Khaying*. "Nesting of birds".
6. *Kharam*. "Transplanting".
7. *Makha*. "Raining".
8. *Marang*. "Grass cutting".
9. *Phei*. "Roaming", in search of food.
10. *Pi*. "Sleepiness", from field-watching.
11. *Tatharaha*. "Reaping".
12. *Ngaphei*. "Abundance".

As another example may be mentioned the months observed by the Tseminyu division of the Rengma Naga tribe, the names of which, together with their respective meanings, I have the privilege of recording I believe for the first time herewith :

1. *Shemhu.* "The month of group singing", since in this month is celebrated the annual purification feast (corresponding to the Angami "Sekrengi"<sup>11</sup>) which is attended with much singing (of the ho-ho-ing kind).
2. *Shogü.* "Jungle cutting", when on the lands to be tilled trees and under-brush are cut down for a period of drying and subsequent burning.
3. *Thagü.* "Withering", with reference to the withering of the leaves of the felled jungle.
4. *Tsara.* "Clean", because the un-sightly stretches of felled and withered jungle have been burned and cleared, leaving the hillsides in a smooth and clean appearance.
5. *Kerii.* "Strenuous", referring to the hard work of preparing the root-and-stone-bound ground for sowing.
6. *Pephä.* "The roof-tree carriers", <sup>12</sup> so named from the designation given to the constellation Orion, the disappearance of which is noted as a sign in connection with sowing of fields.
7. *Keziing.* "Darkness", the month when the sun is seldom seen, and when as they say, "day can scarcely be told from night".
8. *Kering.* "Mildew", the month when mildew is especially in evidence.

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<sup>11</sup> See Hutton's *The Angami Nagas*, on 'Sekrengi' p. 197.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Hutton's *The Angami Nagas*, p. 412.



9. *Shūpswi*. "Yearning", the month when the poor long intensely for the new grain of the year,
10. *Tsachii*. "Path-walking", the month of going to and from the fields carrying the grain to the village.
11. *Chenda*. "Roam about", for now the rush of the harvest and grain-carrying has ceased, and the weather, too, is favourable to a good deal of wandering around both for pleasure and profit.
12. *Churā*. Named thus, because they pick at this time of the year an oil-seed of the Asiatic mints variety, specifically the *Perilla ocymoides*.<sup>13</sup> (It is interesting to note that the Karens name their eleventh month after an oil-seed, possibly one of the same variety).

I was disappointed at first when I found that Dr. Clark's *Ao Naga Dictionary* gives no descriptive names for the Ao months. They are differentiated merely by the Ao terms for "first", "second", "third", etc., and only in the case of some of them is mention made of activities or events said to be associated with particular months.<sup>14</sup> But, if the Aos do not, and probably never did, use descriptive terms for naming their months, the fact is not only interesting, but may prove very helpful in any further effort to trace their origin.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 61, 243.

<sup>14</sup> E. W. Clark, *Ao Naga Dictionary*, under "Ita", p. 253.

In the book "A Corner of Cathay",<sup>15</sup> it is stated that, "The Chinese year contains either twelve or thirteen months, which correspond closely with the moon's changes. The first day of the month is new moon. There are either twenty-nine or thirty days in a month, and the number in a certain month may be different in years. The calendar for the year tells the number of days in each month for that year; and when one wishes to know whether there are twenty-nine or thirty days in the month he inquires, saying, 'Is this month a greater or a lesser one'? One year in every three has an intercalary month, some month being repeated, and called the second fifth month or the second eighth month as the case may be.' "

Perhaps the Aos have in some way unknown to us been influenced by the Chinese in this respect. Some day we shall have more information about the trans-Dikhu tribes and their respective calendars. If it then appears that they number their months as do the Aos, the idea that the latter have a different origin than the Angamis<sup>16</sup> and other tribes of that group will have found further support.

This primitive custom of designating by some telling word or phrase each of so many moons in the seasonal year is what Professor A. L. Kroeber calls "the descriptive moon series".<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Adele M. Fielde, *A Corner in Cathay*, p. 114.

<sup>16</sup> In Hutton's *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 371, 375, that idea is referred to.

<sup>17</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 374.

He states that this signifies "the earliest stage of anything like time reckoning in America". The early inhabitants are said to have taken notice of the return of the seasons, and to have kept rude tack of the passage of time by following a series of natural months which they called by such names as "heavy cold", "flying geese", "deer rutting", or "falling leaves". The examples that he gives of descriptive terms have no reference to agriculture, to be sure, and are less exact than those in vogue with many present-day Nagas; but they suggest what one could expect to find among nature people at a given cultural level.

How people can continue to manage their affairs satisfactorily year after year without bothering to profit by the easily obtained knowledge of the Gregorian Calendar is a matter on which a further word may be said. It is evident that the period of twelve lunar months beginning, say, about the 4th of January, 1927, will end about the 23rd of December the same year. Likewise, that the following twelve moon round will come to its close about the 12th of December, 1928. With the Angamis it is possible that their so-called 'intervening month,' the greater part of which usually falls in our January, should in this case begin that early. But it is much more likely that the intercalary month will be inserted that very year. This would result in the pushing forward of the 'intervening month' so as to have it begin about the 11th of January, 1929.

The Angami speaks in general terms when he says that a thirteenth month is added every two

or three years. This statement covers the case; but a little figuring will soon convince one that a well-balanced reckoning actually requires it to happen every third year, except once in eleven or twelve years, when only a two-year period will be necessary for the proper correction.

The seemingly difficult problem is in practice solved in a remarkably simple way. No knowledge of astronomy or intricate mathematics is required. With the Angamis it all depends upon the completion of the harvest.<sup>18</sup> For no harvesting can be done during the moon which is called "commencement of ease", and which usually corresponds to our December. The harvest, after all, remains a constant factor during the long course of years, for it depends upon the solar year. The celebration of certain communal festivals depends not only upon the finished work of harvesting but must also be counted a certain number of days from the subsequent new moon. Thus when the end of "the brightening month", comes so early that there remains grain yet to be harvested, an extra moon is added for the completion of the harvest, and then follows the regular "commencement-of-ease" month.

But obviously the system must be fraught with some difficulties for the group. The area which the tribe or clan tills has different climatic conditions, and consequently there are some variations in best time for sowing and exact time for harvesting. In a large village alone it is some-

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<sup>18</sup> See on *Vate genna*, *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 200-201.

times found impracticable for the different units to observe all the months contemporaneously. In Kohima, for example, the Cherama clan has its fields in a valley to the north where the heat and drought before the monsoon are not so marked, hence favourable to early sowing and planting. The Cheramas have therefore found it expedient to observe two months of the first half of the year, one lunation earlier than the rest of the village. This is done by substituting the "small-straddle" for the "drowsy" month and then doubling the "large-straddle" month in order to coincide again with the reckoning of the rest of the village.

That the agricultural year is different among villages of the same tribe has been noted in descriptions of the Aos,<sup>19</sup> the Semas,<sup>20</sup> the Lhotas<sup>21</sup> and others. It stands to reason that the original unity of the tribe has suffered from these partings of ways and that the changes have come about gradually and not without a great deal of acrimonious jangling. The more important communal and religious feasts are connected with some significant event in the agricultural year, and it is felt pretty strongly that any deviation from a synchronous observance will have disintegrating and hence hurtful effect on the group as such. It is clear, therefore, that when a controversy arises mutual concessions will often be made for the sake of preserving solidarity.

<sup>19</sup> E. W. Clark, *Ao Naga Dictionary*, p. 258.

<sup>20</sup> Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 261.

<sup>21</sup> J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 227.

But a word must be said also as to the solstitial year reckoning. This goes side by side with, and serves as a check on the descriptive moon series. Among the Angamis it is done independently and unofficially by a few wiseacres. These have either been taught the art directly by their fathers, or have been ambitious enough to seek out for themselves the information needed. It is probable that the in-part-independent calendar of the Cherama division of Kohima<sup>22</sup> is, due in some measure to, their slightly advanced knowledge in this respect. Kohima is well situated for the accurate observation of the points where the sun rises and sets. Both to the east and to the west at suitable distances are mountain ridges by the help of which the changing positions of the sun from week to week can be observed without great difficulty. But even though the distance marked between the winter and summer solstices is a considerable one, it must be recognized that an independent origin of the solstitial reckoning in this low latitude would be immensely more remarkable than it would be in a high latitude like Alaska. For that matter, I suppose, it would be most difficult to argue convincingly that any Angami has ever arrived at accurate conclusions about the solstitial year apart from direct help from some one.

Many Angamis manifest a keen interest in the "turning back of the sun" at the summer solstice and come to inquire about it. This information

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<sup>22</sup> See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, p. 116.

serves to make them more certain that they are preparing their transplanting at the right time. In the olden times only the select few could tell them; but now they can find out from Europeans or from educated men in their own midst. At any rate this and other natural signs observed are only auxiliary and subordinate to the descriptive moon series. For that system is so efficient and so well suited to the present peculiar ideas of the people that its early displacement by a more advanced method of time reckoning is most unlikely.

[ I am indebted to Dr. J. H. Hutton for calling my attention to the materials referred to in the notes nos. 6,7,8,9, and 15. ]

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### III. THE SAVARAS OF ORISSA.

BY SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, M. A., B. L.

#### Introductory.

The Savaras, Sabaras, Sauras, or Saonrs are a widely distributed 'Kolarian' tribe, being found as far west as Bundelkhand and east in Orissa and Ganjam. They are generally known as Sauras in Orissa, and as Saonrs in the Central Provinces. Friedrich Muller, General Cunningham and Mr. R. Cust regard them as Kolarian, while colonel Dalton thinks otherwise and looks upon them as belonging to the Dravidian group of tribes. The Kolarian languages have been shown by Sir G. Grierson to have originated from the same source as those spoken in the Indo-Pacific islands and the Malay Peninsula. The Kolarian tribes, the Monkhmer, the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula and the Nicobarese all use forms of speech which can be traced back to a common source. It would appear therefore that the Kolarian tribes, the oldest known inhabitants of India, perhaps came originally from the South-east, the islands of the Indian Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula, unless India was their original home and these countries were colonised from it.

The Savaras were known to the Indo-Aryans in the Vedic times. "The origin of the name", says General Cunningham, "must

Root meaning of be sought outside the language the word Savāra. of the Aryans. In Sanskrit 'Savara' means simply a corpse. From Herodotus, however, we learn that the Scythian

word for an axe was *sagaris*; and as 'g' and 'v' are interchangeable letters, *Savar* is the same word as *sagar*. It seems therefore not unreasonable to infer that the tribes who were so called took their name from the habit of carrying axes. Now it is one of the striking peculiarities of the Savaras that they are rarely seen without an axe in their hands. This peculiarity has been frequently noticed by all who have seen them. \* Looking to the root-meaning of the word in Sanskrit we find that it has been derived from verb, *roya*, to carry, with a prefix *Saba*, a dead body or carcass. So the word means a carrier of carcasses. This root meaning fits in with the primitive occupation of the tribe, which lived entirely on the spoils of chase. The Savaras had the habit of taking the flesh of dead animals, specially those that were thrown on the outskirts of villages. Now-a-days the Savaras do not take the flesh of dead cows and buffaloes. The former they have given up in deference to the feelings of their Hindu neighbours. The latter they have given up only quite recently. Even now they have not the least hesitation in taking the flesh of dead *sambaras* or deer in a high state of decomposition. It is quite evident that the Savaras in early times ate up the carcasses of all domesticated animals that were thrown outside the village. Hence the name Savara or Carrier of Corpses had at its inception a literal significance that it has well-nigh lost. General Cunningham's root meaning of the word seems a bit far-fetched.

\* Archaeological Survey of India, XVII, 113.

According to the Census of 1901 the total number of persons speaking the Savara language was 157,136. Their number. The Census figures of 1872, 1881 and 1921 may be compared from the following tables.

District.	Census figures, 1872		1881.	
Cuttack. ...	...	16,589	...	20,217.
Puri. ...	...	14,179	...	17,239.
Balasore ...	...	446	...	642.
Orissa States...	...	36,845	...	20,871.
Singbhum ...	...	277	...	494.
Manbhum ...	...	...	...	197.
Midnapur ...	...	...	...	1,462.

*Census of 1921 (Bihar & Orissa).*

	Males.		Females.	
Total number ...	96,971.	...	...	105,664.
Cuttack ...	12,058.	...	...	12,933.
Puri ...	8,872.	...	...	10,089.
Orissa States ...	43,314.	...	...	46,830.

In the Census Report of 1911 for Madras under the heading of Territorial distribution of principal castes we find a list of Savaras as follows:—

	Males		Females.	
Hinduised Savaras	27,411	...	...	28,641.
Animistic Savaras	64,937	...	...	65,189.
<b>Total</b>	<b>92,348</b>			<b>93,830.</b>

The Census Report of 1911 for the Central Provinces and Berar shows a total Savara population of 54,143 of whom 26,414 are males and 27,729 females-

References to the Savaras in Sanskrit literature are very scanty indeed. Manu in his famous

*Samhita* speaks of a Mlechha

References in  
literature.

country beyond Aryāvarta which represented the then farthest Aryan settlement. The land

where the Indian black buck is found wild is the land of Yagnas, and the rest is Mlechha country—a vast stretch of hills and forests. Medhātithi, the famous commentator of Manu, included the Medha, Andhra, Sabara and Pulinda under 'Mlechha' tribes. The Sabaras and the Pulindas are described in Matsya and the Vayu Purans as *Dakshināpatha-vāsinah*. The Mahābharata also places the Andhras, Pulindas and Sabaras in the Deccan. We have it in the Mahābharata that one of King Yayāti's sons became the father of the Mlechha tribes, but this can be explained away as a natural desire to expand the bounds of kinship and to establish some link of connection, albeit meagre and unsatisfactory, with the non-Aryan tribes, who were too numerous to be left out of count altogether. In Musalaparva of the Mahābharata after the Yādavas had been destroyed by fratricidal war, the non-Aryan Aviras forcibly captured some Yādava ladies and the great Arjuna in spite of of his Gāndibha could not prevent this dishonour to the Yādavas in particular, and the Aryans in

general. In the same *parva* Jarā Savara mistook Srikrishna for a deer and killed him with an arrow. In the *Aranya Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyana* there is a touching story of a Savara woman passing her days in religious austerities in anticipation of seeing Rām with her own eyes in the Ashram of sage Mātanga, near about Nasik. Her bloom of youth faded into the wrinkles of age, yet she patiently expected Rām's coming, and Rām did come at last, and at his sight she left her mortal tenement and went to Heaven. Rām also accepted hospitality from Guha, a Savara chief. Numerous sub-castes of the Savaras to this day trace their descent from Guha Savara.

Barāha Mihir (about 550 A. D.) mentions Parna Savaras who are to this day found in the hills and forests of Orissā under the name of Patra Savaras. In the *Amarkōsh*, the famous lexicon of the 7th century A. D., we have the following verse:—

Nishādashwapachābantebashi Chaṇḍāla Pukkasā

Bhedā Kirāta Sabara Pulindā Mlechhajātaya

Byādhō Mrigabadhājibō Mrigou lubdhaka pi swa.

This shows that the Savaras like the Nishādas, Antabasis, Chandalas, Pulindas, Shwapachas and Kirātas belonged to Mlechha tribes, living chiefly by hunting. In the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, a Savara messenger is described as carrying a bow in his hand, with his hair tied up in a knot behind with a creeper, black in colour and wearing a loin cincture of *vilwa* leaves. In the *Kirātārjuna* by

Bhārabi, Siva appeared to Arjuna like a Kirāta and was pleased to give him *Pasupat-astra* after a hard fight. The *Nāṭyashāstra* which is said to have been written by Bharata Muni in the sixth century A. D. mentions a rule that when the barbarians including the Odras and the Sabaras have to be represented on the stage they should be made to speak what has been technically called in the book as *Vibhāsa* (*Vide slokas 44, 47 &c.*). It is not at all clear what is meant by *Vibhāsa*. But it may be taken with fair certainty that the dramatic characters in ancient times were not required to speak different tongues on the stage, but had only to corrupt or modify the pronunciation of the standard *Prākṛita* words, with some noted tribal peculiarities, just to suggest the class to which the characters belonged.

In old Sanskrit literature such as the *Kāma Sūtra*, *Dasakumar charit* and so forth the Savaras and other aboriginal tribes have been designated as *Mlechhas*. The word "*Mlechha-bhāṣita*" occurs in many books to signify a gibberish.

Ptolemy describes the river *Manada* as rising in the country of the Sabari and says that diamonds are found in the bed of that river near *Sambalaka*. The river *Manada* must be identified with the *Mahanadi* and *Sambalaka* with modern *Sambalpur*. Diamonds can still be obtained from the bed of the river near *Sambalpur*. There are extensive Sabara settlements on the banks of the river *Mahanadi*, a little below *Sambalpur*.

It is rather refreshing to note in this connection

that Dadhyatā Bhakti, a book of very high authority by Ram Das a Vaishnab poet of Orissā, mentions an anecdote of a Savara, by name Ananda Kantuki, who lived in the Talmals, that is, the sea-coast portion of the Cuttack District. He and his wife lived on the spoils of the chase. A devout Vaishnab came to his house on his way to Jagannath and gave the 'Rām Tarak mantra' to the Savara. The Savara was allowed by his *guru* to take meat as before, even after his initiation, but he was ordered to offer his food to Rām before taking his meals. One day he forgetfully took a morsel without offering it to his God and in remorse he was about to cut his own throat with the sharp edge of an arrow when Rām revealed himself before him and stopped him. Rām offered to give him whatever boon he liked, but the Savara, instinct with true devotion, prayed only for unflinching faith in his God. The above anecdote proves conclusively that in the middle of the 16th century when this book was written Vaishnavism had found its way to the Savaras, one of whom at any rate was an ideal Bhakta fit to be placed in the record of devotees.

Once, and once only, outside Orissā the Savaras seemed to have emerged into limelight. A tradition of Savara supremacy hangs about the district of Shahabad in Bihar. In the days of the Mauryas, Oudh and Behar were occupied by Aryanised tribes and Magadha was the centre of Indian civilisation. But the power and wealth of Magadha had declined



before the third century A. D.; and when the Guptas shifted the centre of their kingdom westwards to the Doab and Malwa, the great part of Eastern India passed into the hands of the aborigines. The ancient capital lay in ruins and the jungle extended from the Himalayas to the neighbourhood of Benares, and from Bihar to Rewah. With favourable environments the Non-Aryan tribes began to thrive once again. The Cheros, themselves a Kolarian tribe, became the rulers of Bihar. An inscription at Budh Gaya mentions one Phudi Chandra who is traditionally said to be a Chero. Local tradition ascribes to the Savaras the conquest of the Cheros and their expulsion from the plateau of Sahabad in the year 421 of the Salivahan era or 500 A. D.

The history of at least two Feudatory States of Orissa bears witness to the supremacy of the Savaras.

Savaras in the secular history of Orissa.	It is said that Dhenka Savara founded the State of Dhenkanal, which was named after him. He was in possession of a strip of
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land about a couple of miles in area, upon which the present residence of the chief stands. There still exists to the west of the Chief's residence a mound commonly known as the Dhenka-swara Munda (head) to which worship is rendered once or twice in the year. About the middle of the 18th century, one Singha Bidyadhar founded the country after killing Dhenka Savara. Legend relates that the conquered Savara when put to death prayed that his head should always be worshipped. The first Rajput Raja of Pal Lahara is said	land about a couple of miles in area, upon which the present residence of the chief stands. There still exists to the west of the Chief's residence a mound commonly known as the Dhenka-swara Munda (head) to which worship is rendered once or twice in the year. About the middle of the 18th century, one Singha Bidyadhar founded the country after killing Dhenka Savara. Legend relates that the conquered Savara when put to death prayed that his head should always be worshipped. The first Rajput Raja of Pal Lahara is said
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to have been selected by the Savaras and other tribes as their chief, and legend relates that he obtained the name Pal because he was saved during a battle by the Savaras hiding him under a heap of straw. The Zaminnar family of Barosambar is the aristocratic representative of the aboriginal Binjhāls in the district of Sambalpur. The present Zamindar of Barosambar has edited an old book named the *Nrisingha Māhātmya* and has claimed in this book a Rajput origin of the Binjhāls. It has been narrated in this work that four heroic youths who possessed wonder-ful magical powers married Savara Lahar girls and became the progenitors of the Binjhāls; the eldest of these brothers is said to have been the progenitor of the Zamindar family of Borasambar (Orissa in the making by B. C. Mazumdar, page 89, 1925).

Now the real history of the Savaras lies buried underground. It is an admitted fact, borne out by recent researches and epigraphic records, that at the time when Asoka the Great conquered Kalinga, the ruling dynasty was of Telegu descent. The Odras who have given their name to Orissā and the Savaras were at that time living a semi-nomad existence in the uplands of Orissā. The Odras and the Savaras lived side by side unaffected by the ebb and flow of civilisation in the sea-coast districts. The Odras were later on known as Utkalas. Kalidās in the 4th Canto of his *Raghubansam* speaks of the Utkalas as showing Raghu his way into Kalinga. For reasons not known to us the Odras left their forest homes and came upon the plains of Orissā at

the time when Buddhistic influence was in its westerling glory; when King Yajati Keshari, the first of the Keshari or Lion line, conquered Orissā, the Odras had taken a permanent touch of Aryan culture. It was under the Lion Kings that the language of the Odras became a literary language, and within the space of four centuries, it produced literary works of sterling merit. We do not know anything about the language of the people of the plains when the sea-coast district formed a part of the great Kalinga Kingdom. We cannot say what affinity it bore to the original language of the Odras. It is just possible that the Odras completely swamped the sea-coast district by settling down in overwhelming number and a new language sprang up as a result of compromise between their original language and the language of the plains. This was the parent of Modern Oriyā. The Savara language has gradually faded into the superior Oriyā language though it has left its traces behind. Thus by a freak of fortune the Odras came into prominence and the Savaras went down and down till they lost their identity. Now the history of a rude people like the Savaras, who did not know how to read and write, whose language is gone and whose manners and habits have changed considerably, can only be traced out by extensive excavations in the sites of their old homes. This has not been done yet. We cannot, therefore, definitely say what was their culture and civilisation, until some facts are brought to light by excavation.

It will be news to many outside Orissā that the

Savaras are associated in the worship of two important shrine of Orissā that have attained all-India celebrity. The Suars of Puri claim to be descended from Viswa Basu, the Savara priest of Jagannath. They are no longer Jagannath's priests but his cooks, for they cook the rice and curries offered to the God, which thereby becomes Mahāprasād and may be partaken of by high and low castes together. It is in the fitness of things that Jagannath, the Lord of the world, shall take his food cooked by the despised and low caste Savaras. Hindu orthodoxy startles at the idea and vainly thinks that the Suars are a variant of the Sanskrit word *supakar*. There is a legend that the Savaras were the first worshippers of Jagannath. Both Hunter and Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, two well-known authorities about the antiquities of Orissā, have noticed the legend in their works. Krishna Das, an Oriyā poet of the 16th Century in his book called *Deul Tola* (construction of the temple), has also given *in extenso* the legend about the first worshippers of Jagannath. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra concludes that at the earliest stage of its existence the shrine of Puri was in the possession of the Savaras. It stands to reason that the Savaras were at one time the worshippers of Jagannath. But it is really a wonder how the Aryan settlers and the powerful and independent Hindu kings of Puri could tolerate the supremacy of a despised caste within the sacred precincts of the holy temple and permit the sufferings to the idol to be cooked by untouchable

Savaras. Krishna Das, in his book called Deultola, has given an explanation of this paradox. But we shall state the legend before any inference can be drawn from it. There was once a great king called Indra-dumnya. He reigned in Malwa. He wanted to worship the living Vishnu and sent messengers far and wide to find out the living god. All the messengers returned unsuccessful, but Bidyāpati who had gone to the east did not come back. He wandered into the haunts of the Savaras. The chief compelled him to marry his daughter. Bidyāpati came to know from his wife that the Savara chief worshipped a live image of Vishnu inside the forest. One day Bidyāpati went along with his father-in-law to see the image. The Savara went inside the forest to collect some fruits for his god; The god used to take fruits offered to him by the Savara like a human being but when the fruits were duly offered that day the god refused to take them and told the Savara that he was sick of forest produce and liked to take cooked rice and curries. The Savara was angry with Bidyāpati and threw him into prison, but he managed to get out of it and reached his king with the news of the living Vishnu. The King came with a great army to the seat of the idol, and pride possessed his heart. But before he could get hold of the idol, it disappeared like a flame into the air and a voice said, "O King, thou shalt build my temple, but me thou shalt not get". The king was disconsolate. But he worked at the temple and got it consecrated by Brahmā. He was however sick at heart and

prayed to Vishnu to come to him in the shape of an idol. At last a vision came to him and disclosed the image of Vishnu as a block of wood half thrown by the ocean upon the sand. The king brought the block and engaged good many carpenters to work on it. But all of them failed and none could make any impression upon the block with the tools. At last an old carpenter came to the king and undertook to fashion images out of the block if he were left alone with it for 21 days inside a closed room. The queen who had a mind to rid herself of her barrenness through a glimpse of the idol impatiently opened the door before the prescribed time, and three rough-hewn images of Jagannāth, Balarām and Subhadrā were discovered inside the room. The old carpenter melted away into thin air. The king consecrated the idols and prayed for a boon that the worship would continue for ever. The boon was given. Jagannāth asked the king to pray for a personal boon. The king prayed that his line might be extinct so that none of his descendants would brag of the temple he had built and the elaborate worship he had organised. This boon was given and the king's line was extinct after him.

In the *Deul-tola* by Krishnadas, to which we have already referred, Lord Jagannāth is said to have arranged for his various sets of Shewaks or worshippers with King Indradyumna, before the latter asked him for the boon of extinction of his line. The lines are worth quoting if only to show that the Sauras or Suars, attached to the temple

of Jagannāth, are *supakārs* or cooks by accident only but are really of the Savara stock.

Jā bana Savara goti banastarā thila  
 Nila jā madhubarupā ambhara pujila  
 Sabārara gharā jenu putra heba jāta,  
 Daita sevaka heba nola Jagannatha.  
 Jeun Brāhmana totara duttapana gala  
 Nilamadhabankarupa bhete jā paila,  
 Sa Brāhmana ghara jeun putra heba jata.  
 Prakrita sevaka sa boila Jagannatha.  
 Bidyapati Brāhmana ja dutapana gala.  
 Savara jhika ja sa pradana hoila  
 Sabaruni tharu jenu putra heba jata.  
 Rosoghara so ja suddha Suara hoiba  
 Bhāngikari mugamana ragarinadeba  
 Taha ghāru athakāli barsaka asiba  
 Anasara mora sreeangralapida.

Jagannāth said, "The sons of the forest Savara that lived in the forest and worshipped my Nilamādhāb image will be my Daita Sewaks. The sons of the Brāhman that went out as your messenger and met my Nilmādhāb image will be my *prakrita Sewaka*. The Brāhman Bidyapati who went as your messenger, was given the Savara's daughter in marriage; the sons born of their wedlock will be *suddha Suārs*. They will be *suddha suārs* of the cook-room and will break *mūg* pulses (*phasiolus Mungo*) and rub out the grain from the husk. Once in the year paste will be brought from their houses and applied to my body while I will be in Anasana room (fasting room) for a period of fifteen days immediately before the car-festival".

The *Daitapatis* who are commonly called *Daitas* live only at Puri and are privileged to touch Lord Jagannāth on the occasions of *Snāna jātrā*, *Rath Jātrā* and *Nava Kalēbar*. The *Daitas* now-a-days feel it beneath their dignity to call themselves *Savaras* and have begun intermarriage with the higher castes. The *Suārs* like the *Daitas* are found exclusively at Puri and are known as the *Sewaks* of Jagannāth. The cook room inside the temple of Jagannāth belongs to the *Suārs*. No other caste nor even a good *Brahman* has the right to cook the God's food therein. The *Daitas* and the *Suārs* call themselves descendants of Lord Jagannāth.

Bhubaneswar is another important shrine of Orissā. Pilgrims who go to Puri make it a point to see Bhubaneswar on their way back. It is customary with the Hindus of all castes to partake of the cooked rice offerings to Bhubaneswar, although high and low do not share them together as they do the *Mahāprasād* of Puri. The *Kesari* or *Lion* line of Orissā was essentially a *Siva*-worshipping dynasty. Temples to the All-Destroyer formed the great public works of the six centuries during which it ruled Orissā. Their founder (*Yajāti Keshari*) began the lofty fane of Bhubaneswar about 500 A. D., two succeeding monarchs laboured on it, and the fourth, (*Alabu Kesari* of *Stirling*) completed it in A. D. 657. The temple at Bhubaneswar shows the high-water mark of Orissān art. In point of

The Savaras in the temple of Bhubaneswar.



artistic excellence it is much better than the temple of Jagannāth and probably comes next only to the temple of the Sun at Kanārak. It must be mentioned also that this famous temple was constructed at a time when Hindu influence in Orissā was on the ascendant and Buddhism was slowly yielding to it the ground it had held for some centuries. At such a juncture and in such a temple constructed, as it was, by a mighty Hindu King with the strongest leaning towards orthodoxy we can hardly expect to find the Non-Aryan Savaras as the chief priests and worshippers. But the chief priests like the Suars of Puri are really of Savara descent. They are called Bārus who have the undoubted right to cook the food of the god and to offer flowers and water on him.

Ekāmbra Purāṇ in Sanskrit deals with the sacred places of Ekāmbraṇ or Bhubaneswar. In it there is a legend about the origin of the Bārus. This Purāṇ is an *upapurāṇ* or subsidiary Purāṇ. It may fairly be presumed that it was composed a little after the construction of the temple, just when the shrine was rising into fame. In days of yore there was a leader of men, called Siddhabhuti, versed in the Vedas. He saw the Sun and the Moon taking Siva's *prasād* or offering at Ekāmbraṇ, and asked Siva at Kailas the reason for it. Siva said in reply that his *prasād* at Ekāmbraṇ could be taken by all, as Bishnu dwelt with him there in one and the same image. Siva asked Siddhabhuti to take his *prasād* to Brahmā. He did so, and Brahmā and the famous seven sages partook of it without the least hesi-

tation. He then went to Siva and, as ill-luck would have it, not being thoroughly conscious of the identity of Siva and his consort Pārvatī, who was a part and parcel of his body, he laughed at her. Pārvatī cursed him and he was changed into a black snake. A peacock devoured the snake. A Savara killed the peacock and left it near his wife, who was fast asleep. The snake left the dead body of the peacock and entered the Savara woman through her nostrils and she became big with child. The child was brought up in the ways of the Savaras. After reaching his age of discretion, he happened to discover his real self and worshipped Lingaraja at Ekāmrabān. Siva was pleased with him and gave him a boon that in the Kali Yuga his descendants would be his worshippers at Ekāmrabān. The Bārus are his descendants and they have to this day the undoubted right of worshipping Lingaraj or Bhubaneswar. We see in this legend a rich Aryan colouring applied to the simple and prosaic fact that the Bārus of Bhubaneswar are of the Savara descent. The Bārus form a small but interesting community. They take the sacred thread and are at present known throughout the country as Brāhmins. They take special care to hide their non-Aryan origin before their numerous pilgrims from far and near. Their marriage custom is peculiar and is not at all consistent with the canons of orthodoxy. They marry girls of any Chasa or cultivator caste after performing a sort of purification ceremony, but even after marriage they do not take cooked rice in the house of

their fathers-in-law. There is a tradition at Bhubaneswar that some ancestors of the Barus built the temple of Savareshwar, a Siva who is supposed to be the Lord of the Savaras. The Barus are the ancient priests of Bhubaneshwar. There is another class of worshippers called Pūjā Pāṇḍās who are pure Brāhmans. It is said that the Barus in order to ensure a speedy disposal of their manifold daily duties in connection with the idol by division of labour introduced the Pūjā Pāṇḍās. The oldest sanads or grants of land stand in the name of the Barus. In recent years the Pūjā Pāṇḍās and the Barus have fought a good deal in the courts of law over their rights of worship of the idol. It has now been fairly well established that both of them have the right of worshipping the idol.

There is a famous image of Siva on the Kapilās hill, about twelve miles from the head-quarters of the Dhenkanal state. The Siva is a rough unhewn stone, just like Bhubaneswar. There is a small temple erected over this stone god. The Savaras associated in the worship of Kapilās in Dhenkanal.

A spring comes out from the hill top through a well constructed channel and flows down below into the woods. The shrine at Kapilās is held in high regard by the people of Orissā but it does not attract visitors from outside, owing to the difficulties of the journey. A great fair is held annually here on Sivarātri in March. It draws about ten or fifteen thousand people from the different parts Orissā. There are two sets of Sewaks or worshippers at Kapilās. The non-

Aryan worshippers have the charge of cooking the rice offerings of the god and are called Chintapatris. They say that they are a branch of the Daitapatis of Puri. They are purely of Savara origin. High class Brahmins do not take the cooked rice offerings of the god on the ground that they are cooked by men of Savara descent. The oldest Chintapatris say that their ancestors, the Savaras, were the original worshippers of the idol. When the Hindu Rājās became supreme in the Dhenkānal State, they appointed another set of Brahman worshippers versed in the *mantras* or incantations, about one hundred and fifty years ago. The Savaras had no *mantras* for worship and by natural preference the *pūjā* or purely the incantation portion of it passed to the Brahman priests. The Chintapatris cook the rice offerings of the god and bathe him and do everything except the purely incantation portion of the worship. There is no inter-marriage between them and the Savaras, whom they look down upon as their inferiors in point of caste. Here is an instance of how a purely Aryanised worship has come to exist side by side with the primeval worship of the Savaras. This gives us a sufficient index to the turn taken in the worship of Jagannāth or Bhubaneswar under the patronage of Hindu Rājās.

*Grāmdēvis* are peculiar to Orissā. They are also called Apaia Thakurānis. We often see at

one end of a village under the shade of a tree a rough unhewn stone, decorated with vermilion, which is called *Grāmdēbta*. In

Savaras as  
worshippers of  
Gramdebties.

a village where the Suārs have settled down the

Suār headman worships the *Grāmdēvi*. The worship does not take place every day. Once or twice in the year, on ceremonial occasions, the worship takes place with great eclat. Savara women with cane or bamboo baskets go about the village every Thursday and collect alms from householders. They spend what they get in the worship of the village goddess. Once or twice every month the women bathe the Thakurāṇī and change her cloth. When any marriage takes place in the village the bride or the bridegroom's party, as the case may be, irrespective of their caste or position in society, offer worship to the *Grāmdēvi* through her own priest. Men belonging to the upper castes do so without the least qualm of conscience. So long as there is a deity in the village and the worship is going on, the villagers respect the form of worship and visit indifferently the shrine in the belief that the worship, if duly performed will advance their cause. Stirling says "They (the Savaras) are said to worship certain crude forms of Debi and Mahadeb, or rather the Hindus so interpret the adoration paid by them to a few natural objects as stumps of trees, masses of stones or clefts in rocks in which an impure imagination may discover some resemblance to the human organ of generation".

On the popular magical lore there is a hall mark of Savara influence. Two names occur invariably at the end of each Savara influence on the popular magical lore. *mantra* or incantation by which the conjurer tries to rid the patient of a sudden muscular pain, the evil influence of the witch or even snake

poison. They are the names of Nitai's mother the Dhobani and Kitai's mother the Patar Savaruni. Nitai's mother was a Pataru Savara by caste. So great was the magical powers of these two women that even now every evil spirit and witch are supposed to do what is bid in the names of these two powerful exorcists. Nothing is known about these two powerful women and we cannot say with certainty when and where they flourished. Tradition says that they lived in a village in the district of Puri. All exorcists look upon Kamrup in Assam as the land of magic and witch-craft. Witches and master-exorcists are said to visit Kamrup every night, and they are said to ride on trees which move through the air by the power of magic. There is a Kauri Bata tree about twelve miles to the North of Puri Town. It is said that Kitai's mother the Patar Savaruni was riding on this tree from Kamrup. Nitai's mother the Dhobā (or washer-woman) was washing clothes in a tank. Directly the tree came over the tank its shadow struck Nitai's mother as something very unusual and she could at once see by the power of magic that Ketai's mother was riding the tree from Kamrup. She began telling her most powerful incantations and in the end the tree came down and fixed itself on the earth. Kitai's mother suffered a discomfiture, the first of its kind in her life. It was thus established that in Nitai's mother she had a powerful rival. Both these women however came to be



named together in magical incantations. Every spell or charm, it is widely believed, will surely till if it is uttered with these compelling names.

We give below a few magical incantations. As an antidote of the evil eye of the witch common salt is purified by a *mantra* and given to a child that is sickening under the evil influence early in the morning. This *mantra* is widely used by the people of Orissa. It runs thus:—

"Salt whence hast thou come? I have come from the seven seas. In whose house wast thou? I was in the house of Baruna Raja (the god of seas). I ate out the house, I ate out stones, diamonds and pearls. I ate out the big Raghav fish and the *Magur* and after eating out the spells that cut and those that subdue, I have come to the earth. O Salt, ent thou the exorcist, the snake charmer, the witch and her evil eye. Cut thou Hara's matted locks and Parvati's bobies. Whether thou cuttest or not, I adjure you by *crores* of commands of Nitai's mother the *Dhobani* and Kitai's mother the *Patara Savaruni*".

Opthalmia is a very troublesome disease. Simple people of the villages have an incantation for its cure. The eyes of Sree Ram Chandra and Sita Thakurani had opthalmia in Panchabati forest, and it left in Asokaban (of Lanka). Ram Chandra ordered opthalmia to hide itself in sand caves. "Leave for a short while, a twinkle, a minute. Stop the redness, and watering. Whether you do so or not, I adjure you by *crores* of commands of Ram Chandra and Sita Thakurani, of



Nitai's mother, the Dhobani and Kitai's mother, the Patara Savaruni.

It is needless to multiply instances. We think we have shown from the above that at one time Nitai's mother the Dhobani and Kitai's mother, the Patara Savaruni, rose into great fame as exorcists and this accounts for the frequent mention of their names in magic lore and incantations.

Now-a-days the Patara Savaras are met with in the Feudatory States of Orissa. They are seldom met with in the plains. They live in deep forest. Both the Savaras and the Patara Savara women have to this day a fame for curing the evil eye of witches, as well as various ailments, which are supposed to be caused by evil spirits of the field and the hill. Their intimate knowledge of herbs and simples go a great way in effecting the cure. It seems that they are in the habit of clothing their doctor's art with a good deal of incantations and other magical performances. They say that no drug will ever produce the desired effect if the incantations or the magical performances are omitted. The simple people who go to them for the cure have a strong faith in incantations. They are sure to treat the medicines lightly if they are administered without due performance of magical observances. In some of the States of Orissa, there is a peculiar kind of fever called Bhunya Jar or Bhunya fever. It is supposed to be caused by the Bhunya, or the spirit of the fields. It is universally believed that none but a Patara Savaruni, versed in magical lore, can cure

a man stricken with this malady. She, the Patara Savaruni, utters a long-drawn incantation and fumigates the patient. At the end of the observance the patient takes a *lotāful* of water in his mouth and walks out of the house and becomes unconscious on the threshold. He is then said to be relieved from the fever then and there. The so-called Bhunyā fever seems to be a chronic form of malarial fever that rages in the vicinity of deep forest. We do not know whether any drug is administered to the patient by the Patara Savaruni. It may be that she effects her cure through faith; fumigation too stands to reason as a cure of chronic fever. The close association of the Savara with witch-craft from very ancient times has given rise to a generic name for magic and witch-craft. They are known as Savari Bidya.

There is another class of cases in which the illiterate householders requisition the services of the Savaras. If a wife feels that her husband is not loving her as he should or has set his heart on some body else, she consults the Savara women proficient in Savari Bidya and a magic potion is given to the husband in secret which causes his affection to be rivetted on his wife. If a lewd man has fixed his heart on a woman who rejects his overtures, the Savara woman is consulted and a magic potion is made or magic incantations are uttered to win the affection of the lady-love. The drugs or magic potion prepared by the Savara women is skilfully administered through food.

Sometimes no bad effect is produced. But occasionally the drug brings on a slow poisoning. If a powerful enemy cannot be dealt with in the ordinary way, the weaker party goes to a Savara woman and seeks her aid to quell him. The Savaras are to this day the repository of magic lore. People believe that they are proficient in witch-craft and seek their aid when they stand in need of it.

*Saurs of the plains.*

There are two important sections of the great Savara tribe, the Saur of the plain and the Patara Savara. We shall deal with the former first. They have settled down permanently in the villages; the Patara Savaras do not live in one place for more than two or three years. The Saurs represent the early Hinduised section of the great Savara tribe. Both the Saurs and the Patara Savaras have a tradition that their original ancestors wandered about in the forests of Orissa and Chōtānagpur.

The Saurs are considered very useful by the people of the villages in clearing jungles and providing fuel which are their chief means of gaining a subsistence. Every morning the Saura women and children go to the neighbouring forest to collect fuel. They spend the whole day inside the forest and return in the evening with their bundles which the men dispose of the next morning in the village. Saura men

often accompany the women and children inside the wood, but in a Saur band inside the forest one meets with more women than men. The women with axes in hand form themselves into a line that winds slowly into the forest. Like most of the non-Aryan races the Saura women are more active than their men and do most of the manual works both inside the house and outside it. The Sauras also collect the produce of the woods, and dispose of large quantities to the druggists and fruit-sellers in the neighbouring bazars. In most villages they work as field labourers and cultivate their neighbours' fields on *dhulibhag* or half the produce as remuneration. Some of them have turned petty cultivators also on their own account. Saur women now-a-days do menial works. They scrub utensils, apply cow-dung paste to the floors and walls of houses, and sweep and clean the compound. The Sauras have also taken to the keeping of the cow and selling small quantities of milk in the villages like ordinary Goalas. The part of the village where they live is called Saur Sahi. In it they build a cluster of small thatched huts with mud or wattled walls that do not differ from the huts of other villagers. Each hut has a small compound fenced in on all sides to keep off cattle. In it they raise a few season vegetables that supplement their daily rice meals. They are good field-labourers and look after the growth of paddy crops from the sowing of the fields to the final reaping quite carefully. They do not make expert and up-to-date workers, for they dread all innova-

tions and do not readily do a work which their forefathers never did. They are more faithful than the ordinary *Hatua* castes. They will do the work entrusted to them without any supervision from their masters. But of late their instinctive devotion to work has undergone a change for the worse after the model of other labourer castes.

The Sauras are a half-Hinduised tribe. Like the Pans, Hardis, Bapries and Domes they are looked down upon as very low in the social scale. No cultivator will take water from their hands. The Dhobas, another low caste, have degraded Brahman priests who officiate for them. But not even a degraded Brahman priest is found to do the religious rites of the Sauras. Like the Kols and Santals, the Savaras are given to drinking. Widow-marriage and divorce are in vogue among them. A half-Hinduised tribe who know themselves to be the serfs of the upper castes and are quite content with their lot in the social scale are always keenly alive to the caste prejudices of the superior castes. A gentleman not given to caste prejudices once approached a Saur village and asked the villagers to give him a little water to drink as he was mortally thirsty. Every one felt for him but dared not give water to him, as thereby he would lose his caste. After a long parley it was decided that they would leave a pitcher full of water outside their house, so that he would be at liberty to take the water on his own responsibility. Although the Sauras respect the caste prejudices of the superior castes in such a striking way, yet not even the semi-Hinduised Hardis are allowed



to beat drums on the occasion of Saur festivals or marriages. The Sauris are not allowed to draw water from the same well with the thoroughly Hinduised castes.

The Sauris, like any other poor cultivators of Orissā, take a few handfuls of rice either just after boiling or after it has been soaked in water for a pretty long time with a pinch of salt and bit of vegetable curry, an apology for a side-dish. They take fish, no doubt, but in so small a quantity that what they actually take may well be called a relish of fish. The Sauris are a poor people and as is the case with most poor people who have to earn their livelihood by manual labour, they have a comparatively large number of children. The result is they cannot afford to have two full meals of rice a day. A great part of their sustenance is derived from the roots and produce of the jungle. They collect in large quantities the seeds of the bamboos when they run to seed. It is used as a substitute for rice. Crude cakes without sugar or salt are also made of the powdered seeds. Although it is a very heating and indigestible food, it is not altogether ill-suited to a people who live by hard manual labour. Yams, arums and other roots boiled or burnt supply a variety of dishes. They also take, whenever they can, wild mangoes, *bel* fruits and the seeds of *Bauhinia recemose*. The paste made of the fruits of the palm boiled with a little rice supply them with a favourite dish. It is rather palatable but hard to digest. The flowers of the Mahua or Mahul (*Basia Latifolia*) and the *keora*

(*Pundanus Odoratissimus*) yield them an intoxicating liquor which they distil in a crude way. They also take plenty of the dried flowers of *Mahua* which taste like raisins. They have no hesitation in taking the flesh of any animal except the cow, buffalo and the domesticated hog. They are good *shikaris*. They shoot with the bow and arrows. They take wild ducks, wild fowls, quails, teals, partridges and peacocks. They also take the flesh of the tortoise. The antelope, spotted deer, hog deer (*khuranga*) when, bagged, furnish a rich repast for them. The whole *sāhi* or hamlet partake of the feast when a big antelope is killed. They do not generally shoot at deer or antelopes with arrows. But they surround the beasts and drive them on to water, and beat them to death by long bamboo poles and axes. They also surround small patches of forest in concentric rings and kill the quarry by beating. They roast the flesh in slow fire. In their physical features they differ a little from the people of Orissā. Their inferiority of stature, low features and jet black colour mark them off from the natives of Orissā. Unlike the Santāls and Kols, the Sauras do not appear to have a good physique. The women appear to be specially ugly. Early maternity and continuous child-bearing with attendant poverty and ill-feeding seem to have impaired their growth and development.

It is not at all easy to form a correct estimate of a tribe so widely diffused as the Sauras and so unevenly Hinduised as they are. They are



in a manner brave and hardy. If unconsciousness of danger is a test of boldness, they are surprisingly bold and indifferent to all dangers from wild animals. We have seen Saur sleeping soundly at night on big boulders inside deep forests infested with tigers and leopards. They gladly act as guides to *shikaris*. Their coolness, dexterity, skill, and tact displayed during a hunt are the marvel of European and Indian sportsmen. They know the wild animals and their habits quite intimately. But with all these good qualities the Saur are awfully timid and shy and also cruel to a fault. The Zamindar, village Mahajan and, in fact, every other caste in the village have traded too long on their simplicity to kill in them the least confidence in others. They have felt, and at times quite keenly, that they cannot move with the times and are sadly wanting in the canons of give and take. It is only natural that they should feel inclined to keep away as much as possible from the thoroughly Hinduised castes. If a man with a shirt on would go to a Saur and call him by name the whole family will funk inside and will not come out easily. Robust optimism, jollity and simplicity that characterise the Kolarian tribes of Manbhum are not met with in the Saur. They have evidently bartered these characteristics for crookedness, doubt and suspicion. They are not at all to blame. The so called upper castes that have despised and maltreated them so long ought really to be ashamed of their conduct. We should say that sexual morality among the Saur is not lax to a degree that

strikes the eye. In this respect they are quite at par with the Hatua castes, among whom they live. Nor are they superstitious to a fault as the Kols and Santals are in their forest homes. Halting as they do between their kinsmen, the Patara Savaras of the hills and their good Hindu neighbours, the Sauras throughout have been more sinned against than sinning. We have already said that the Sauras are so widely spread, so unevenly Hinduised, and so differently disintegrated that it is almost difficult to tell how many sub-castes they have. When they have not changed their original habits and customs they have the greatest affinity with the Patara Savaras of the Hills, and when they have been sufficiently Hinduised they have lost their racial traits altogether and have become almost like one of the numerous cultivator castes of Orissā. Between the two extremes there are numerous gradations. Each one of these has its own peculiarities. A slight modification in funeral rites may lead to the creation of a new sub-caste. The model which the Sauras try to approximate is the Hinduised Hatua castes and what they are at pains to hide is their pure non-Aryan descent and their primitive habits and modes of life. In the result numerous sub-castes have come into existence. Intermarriage within the caste is a great test of its solidarity. But this test cannot be applied, as a Saur generally marries within his own *sāhi* or in a neighbouring village. It will be a bold conjecture to say that intermarriage is allowed within a particular sub-caste diffused over a wide

area. It will be more correct to say, for instance, that the Saur of Khurda Sub-division intermarry among themselves or the Saur of the Kapilas Hill marry among themselves within a radius of ten miles. But leaving aside these anomalies, we may say that Saur according to their own traditions have two broad sub-castes, Viz: Palli Khuraria or Kuji Saur and Katuria. The Katurias are deemed to be a better caste than the former. Katuria means a holder of a bill-hook, whereas Khuraria means the holder of an axe. We can well see the reason why the Katurias have been placed above the Khuririas. A primitive race that still holds on to the axe and lives by it exclusively is naturally more manly and less Hinduised than those that have changed the axe for the bill-hook and made it the badge of their tribe. The more a primitive tribe loses its own characteristics, and adopts the manners and ways of the recognised Hindu Castes, the more it rises in the social scale. The Saur themselves have taken a deep colouring of Hinduism and it is but natural among them to regard their most Hinduised section as superior in point of caste. The term Palli means a village. Saur who have permanently settled in villages and live exclusively by the use of the axe have just given up their nomad or unsettled existence. They are on the threshold of the Hindu Society, as it were, and the process of slow and almost unconscious conversion has just begun, which will one day run its full course and leave them a less manly, less

simple, colourless and despicable recruits to the Hindu fold, stamped with inferiority for all time to come.

The Palli Sāurs are also called Kuji Sāurs. It seems that Kuji is only a variation of Kaji which means a labourer.

No special ceremony is performed at the time of birth. The Sāurs do not think that by child

birth the mother becomes unclean

Birth, marriage  
and death cere-  
monies.

for a number of days, following  
the childbirth. They often give

a strong liquor to the mother

to drink and occasionally bathe the child in water mixed with liquor made of Mahua flowers which they say ensures strength and vitality to the baby. They generally burn their dead, but occasionally bury or throw them away on the village cremation ground. They have hardly any very definite notion of a life after death. They do not observe the manifold ceremonies that a thoroughly Hinduised caste observe, throughout Orissā, to ensure peace and happiness to the departed soul.

Parents have the choice in marriages, although love does occasionally play a part in the selection. Marriage after puberty is the general rule, although child marriages are not quite infrequent. No priest, much less a degraded Brāhman priest as in the case of the washerman caste, even officiates in the marriage. The bridegroom's party goes in great pomp to the bride's house. The bridegroom puts on a curious cap adorned with

beautiful feathers. The bridegroom and his party walk on foot. The marriage takes place in the presence of caste-men and relations. The bride and the bridegroom are placed on a small elevated platform of earth made for the occasion, and the headman of the caste who is also reputed to be a man of good character, steps out to the *bedi* or raised platform and puts the hands of the bride and the bridegroom together. The father of the bride brings out from the house an old stump of tree and says to the headman, "Thou hast given my daughter in marriage to the bridegroom. Let us see whether he is able to maintain her or not." He then invites the bridegroom to hew the wood he has brought. If the bridegroom hews the wood to pieces quite easily he is deemed a good bridegroom. If, on the other hand, he is unsuccessful, he becomes the butt of ridicule of the entire party. But the marriage does not become null and void by reason of the failure of the bridegroom to hew the wood. As the chief occupation of the Saurs is the cutting of the wood, a successful trial of skill on the marriage day is deemed to be a good augury of a happy married life to come. In olden days bride-price was unknown and the selection of a bridegroom was made according to his skill and dexterity in hewing the wood. With the change of occupation and change of environments, the test of hewing the wood is no longer the *sine qua non* of a good bridegroom and has now become a mere ceremonial part of a marriage. H. H. Risley, in his *Tribes and Castes Bengal* of Vol. II pages 241-246, says:—"In Orissa



the ritual is quite simple. On arrival of the bridegroom at the bride's house, he is met by her female relatives who greet him with the cries of *Lu, Lu*, and burn ghee, rice, arecanut, turmeric &c. in his honour. This is followed by a curious practice, called *seka*, believed to be peculiar to the Savaras in which the bride's maids warm the tip of their fingers at a lamp and press them on both the cheeks of the bridegroom. The couple then pass on towards the *bedi*, stopping on the way to sprinkle each seven times with a mixture of mustard seed and salt. On reaching the *bedi* they make two and half turns round a pot of water, in which mango leaves have been placed. After this an elder of the tribe nominated as priest for the occasion makes them sit down side by side and binds their hands together with *durba* grass and leaves of *Barkoli* plum tree. This is the closing and essential part of the ceremony. The above description of Saur marriage shows at a glance a strong imitation of Hindu manners and customs." It seems that in writing this description Mr. Risley had in view a particular section of the Saur tribe, which had taken a strong colouring of Hinduised manners and customs. The above description can by no means be taken as a typical description of Saur marriages.

The headman who officiates as priest during marriage seldom says any *mantra* or incantations on the occasion. When he does utter an incantation, it is quite simple and primitive. Here is a couplet that is often used by the Saur during the marriage.

Artunga Gomari  
 Ajathu Bau Tumari  
 Astha patara khasar khasar  
 A Gotra jaie sa Gotra pasa.

The passage may be briefly translated thus:—  
 “Artunga and Gomari trees, the bride from today is yours. The leaves of Popul trees rustle. And one *gotra* goes inside another”. Widow marriage is allowed. Divoree also prevails to a limited extent. The price of the bride varies according to the means of the families. Polygamy is allowed but monogamy is the general rule.

We do not find in the lives of the Sauras any trace of sexual promiscuity which is associated with a primitive people by some authors of renown e. g. Lubbock, MacLennan, Wilkens. Coitus before marriage with a fiancée cannot be called promiscuity. It seems that sexual depravity of the savage races most often arises from the influence of civilised people who immigrate among them and systematically introduce immorality and debauchery. It is rather fortunate for the Sauras that too intimate a contact with the Hindu neighbours have been retarded to a great extent by their exclusiveness as well as by the brand of untouchability on their brow. Saur women have a strong monogamous instinct and their men are certainly more jealous than their Hindu neighbours. Strong jealousy of men and the monogamous instinct of women are quite good safeguards against promiscuity. Even if sexual liberty before and after marriage exists to a limited extent, the



custom of careful selection also exists among these people; and this renders their union comparatively lasting; their tenderness towards children is much stronger than sexual love. Their marriage depends on reciprocal convenience, on the desire to have children, and to profit by personal labour and the satisfaction of a purely animal sexual appetite. A Saur woman grows old with remarkable rapidity. She is only fresh from thirteen to twenty years, after twenty-five she is quite old and a little later she has the aspect of an old sorceress. It seems that this premature senility is not due so much to early sexual intercourse as to the terribly hard work which they undergo and also to the prolonged period of suckling. The romance of marriage does not seem to last long among these people. The marriage couple after one or two child-births feel that their lot is a routine of dull drudgery and accept it with good grace. When the husband, dissatisfied with his wife, marries a second time, the second wife, after her first flush is over, joins the first wife in her routine of drudgery; and quarrels and bickerings among them take place very seldom indeed.

The chief festivity of the Saur comes off in Srāban Purnimā or *gama Purnimā* as it is called in Orissa. This is a gala day for the whole tribe. Some days before this festival they clean their houses and put on a new paste of cow-dung to their front walls. New cloths are purchased and

kept for wearing on the festival day. The Sauris on their festal occasion make a present of choice forest fruits to their landlords. The day passes in great rejoicing. Feasts, drinking and merry-making with songs and dances take place in all Saur villages.

There is a Hinduised version of the Gamapur-nima festivity of the Sauris, Brahma the author of the Vedas brought out from his body an image of Durga and set it up in the forest. He gave the idol eight ornaments and called it Bana-Durga. The idol became famous and came to be known by many people. Brahma said that he who would worship the idol would get eternal blessings. He then left the idol and on the way out from the forest he met Jara Savara and told him to worship Bana-Durga and Jara Savara accordingly worshipped the idol. The goddess one day told Jara Savara that she would kill Gamhasura, a famous demon who infested the forest and killed men and beasts. She did kill the Asura after taking the form of a beautiful woman called Mohini Bhairabi. In order to commemorate the death of the famous Asura, the goddess enjoined upon the Sauris to celebrate annually the day of his death with mirth, song and festivity. She also enjoined upon them to dance on the occasion without incurring the prohibited degrees. She also told them to carry her image inside their meat-basket throughout the village on the day of festivity. The Savaras were a rude forest tribe and know nothing of music, vocal or instrumental.

The goddess told them to go to Siva in Kailas who would supply them with musical instrument necessary for the occasion. The Savaras went up to Siva in Kailas and requested him to supply a musical instrument for their dance. Siva received them kindly and gave them a Ghumura, which is an earthen jar open on one side and closed on the other with leather. Siva said that it would serve the purposes of a stringed and a leather-covered musical instrument. The Sauras in great joy came back to their forest homes and since then they have been worshipping Banadurga every year on Gamapurnima day with dance and song. It may be noted in this connection that Brahman and Kshatriya families of Orissa worship Bana-Durga during the Dasahara festival. They have metal images of the goddess. They worship them daily. The worship is conducted with great pomp during Durgapuja days. The tradition is embodied in an Oriya pamphlet called *Savara janmā* (the birth of the Savaras) by Padmalaya Mahapatra and Juddhisthir Mahapatra, pages 6-8.

On the day of festivity the Sauras do not forget to worship their tutelary idols. The idols are washed and dressed with great pomp. Fruits and flowers are offered to them as also rice washed in water. Goats, hens and pigeons are sacrificed before them. In some places fowls and pigeons are let loose before the idols. Occasionally a devout Saur opens his thigh with a knife and draws a little blood and offers it to the idol. This is generally done to redeem a promise made

during some serious illness of a near and dear relation. The priest who offers these sacrifices is called a Dehuri. There is no *mantra*, and even if there was any in the past, they seem to have forgotten it quite. Their simple worship consists in making offerings to their idols. There is a medium called Kalshi through whom the idols give out their minds. He is possessed with the spirit of the idols. He often utters many a grave warning to the villagers and tells them the ways and means to propitiate the idols when they happen to be angry with them, the Kalshi is an intermediary or connecting link between the idols and the common ignorant villagers, and is held in great awe by the latter. When the spirit of the idols is on him, he struts and bounces and makes all sorts of violent gestures. He is often carried on men's arms from the temple to an open space adjoining, the moment the inspiration makes itself visible. There he indulges in violent contortions like a demoniac and gives out what he has to say slowly with an accompaniment of violent gesticulations, which go right into the heart of his expectant audience. The ceremony takes three or four hours to complete and is followed with a great carousing. The Saur village to a man is present on the occasion of the worship. The idols worshipped by the Saur bear strange names, most of which have no root meaning. They are just like other Gramdebatās—rough blocks of stone without hands and feet. Most of them are Thakurānīs or goddesses, but some few are males. Jagrāsuni, Jharakhadi, Thanapati, Bhunya, Nila

bhunyā, Kachāndi and Sukuā khai Thakurāni (goddess that eats dried fish called Sukua) are a few of the numerous idols worshipped by the Sauras. Although located under the shade of a tree from time immemorial, these gods and goddesses are supposed to cover long distances at night and are supplied with numerous burnt clay horses and elephants for conveyance. It is on Gamāpurnimā day that the worship of these idols takes place with great pomp and grandeur. During the rest of the year once or twice each month the idols are given a bath of turmeric water by Saur women and a new paste of vermilion is put on them. The bath and the paste pacify them and keep them quiet. All these idols to the Saur mind have an immense power of mischief, which they do not use only if they are kept cool and pacified by baths, offerings and sacrifices. If any one chances to meet one of these implacable goddesses while she is out on her mighty round and slights her in any way, he is either killed on the spot or afflicted with a malady that baffles the skill of all magicians and apothecaries. Like other savage and semi-civilised tribes the Sauras' conception of the godhead is rather poor, in that benevolence, mercy and power for good are either totally absent or smothered by a predisposition to commit wanton mischief. The most important portion of the Gamāpurnimā festival is the dance of the Sauras. It is called *Jhanguri nāṭa*. In most places Saur women do not take part in the dance, but males put on female dress and act their part. This is due to imitation of the



Hindu manner and customs. But the general rule about Gamāpurnimā dance is that men should dance with women irrespective of their social position or relationship. The Gamāpurnimā dance is observed by the Patara Savaras in which women freely join. The dance is accompanied with the beatings of Ghumura, a kind of tom-tom. There are at least three distinct varieties of the dance, viz. the peacock dance, the cock dance and the bear dance. It appears that the Sauras try to reproduce the amorous movements of these animals when they are courting their mates. The males in Gamāpurnimā dance beat the Ghumura and pace the field slowly from one end to the other with uplifted heel and restless gait; women dancers form two groups. Some of them move quickly backward a piece of cane through a split bamboo, which gives out a chattering sound. This is Rachaka. They do so while bending themselves double and dance on keeping time with the tune made by the Rachaka and the Ghumura which latter is invariable used by the males. Women, who do not handle the Rachaka, dance while putting their hands on their knee caps. In the beginning the males stand on one side of the field and the women on another and the dance commences, with the slow pacing forward of each group from one end of the field to the other. The song that swells with the dance is full of obscene allusions, which are made palpable by gestures and postures. Young women on this occasion do not feel the least delicacy in singing obscene songs in the presence of their

husbands and other male relations. The dance does not begin before the entire party is tipsy with wine. This may be an excuse for the indelicacy of the occasion.

There are two kinds of songs peculiar to the occasion. The Bhendia or the young man's song is highly obscene, and will not bear translation in any publication. The Jāmādālī songs although not free from marks of obscenity may be given in a few verses, just to show the simple rustic heart of these people. The Jāmādālī or the branch of the Jām tree is sacred to the Gram debātās which the Sauras worship on the occasion. In each refrain the Jāmādālī is invoked and the songs here and there take a little colouring of Hindu mythology. But this mythological colouring is too transparent to be mistaken.

Whoever be the authors of these songs it is clear that they had the unjaded minds of boys and used to take delight in the simple sights and sounds of nature. It must be noted that these songs are in Oriyā language. The authors of these simple songs had the heart of a true poet of nature. We give below a few verses of Jāmādālī songs.

Parbat sikhēra Dhana Sūkaila  
Mayro khīla khuntī,  
Deo mote jhumki kathā  
Mayroku debī jhārī, Jāmādālira,  
Pārbata sikhēra rayī  
Boliporithai chāi  
Radhika mūdārā dhādī pasārā  
Bulī bikoi dhāi, Jāmādālira



Parbata sikhara Indra brusti kala  
 Jamunaku galo dhara  
 Sreekrishna bali chini na parili  
 Tintini kadamba tala, Jamadalira  
 Ja jā mu para nahi  
 Jhagara lagichi mata  
 Rati sola ghari  
 Nidra na mardai  
 Chanhi basi thai tota, Jamadalira  
 Cuttacka agara chouduara taunhi teni ghara teli  
 Teli jheo deichi mali  
 Tara khosatala mandarafula, Jamadalira.

"I dried paddy on the mountain peak. The peacock picked it up Give me my sounding sandal and I shall drive off the peacock, my jāma branch. Rāi (Rādhika) stood on the peak. Her shadow fell long and flat. On Rādhika's head there is the basket of curd. She wanders about and sells, O, my jāma branch! Indra gave rain on the mountain peak. And a stream went to Jamuna river. I could not recognise Sreekrishna. And I was wet under Kadamba tree, my kama branch! Lo, I am no stranger. I feel inclined to quarrel. The whole night I have not slept, waiting for thee, my Jāma branch. In front of Cuttack there is Chauduar (a village of that name). In it there are three houses of of Telis (oilmen). The Teli's daughter has opened out her hair. There is shoe-flower under her top-knot, my Jāma branch!" Here is another song:—

Rama raijoyra Ravanai Raja  
 Tara po Indrajita

Bhāi ānaila Sree Rām Thākur,  
Lankā barajila duta Jamadalira !  
Lankanu duta bragila bela  
Kēhi no gala parata ;  
Sitara ratana churi hajai aila ;  
Nilagiri parabata, Jamadalira !  
Bagha dhia pata pata  
Banabāsa gala sree Rām Thākur  
Chauda barasa kasana tankar, Jamadalira !  
Harina dugati noi parila  
Jhara pani khaibāku  
Kanda dai nahi khasuni deichi ;  
Naipari bindhibaku, jamadalira !  
Baunsa nalara pani  
Ana gamocha bandhi kashi  
Gala bariarda khasi  
Ghara pasigala usungamoi lo bhusanga moi  
Balunga to-kai ghini, Jamodalira !

In Rām's kingdom Ravana was the king. His son was Indrajit. His brother brought Sree Rama Thākur. And messengers surrounded Lanka, my Jāmo branch ! When Lanka was surrounded by messengers none believed what he saw. Sita's diamond bracelets were lost on Nilagiri, my Jāmo branch ! The tiger's body is striped. Sree Ram went into forest exile and oh ! his troubles for fourteen years, my Jāmo branch ! Two deer moved down to drink the water of the spring, I have given not the arrow but the Khasuni (weeding instrument) to pierce them while setting down, my Jāmo branch ! In the pipe of bamboo

there is water. Bring him tied secure in a napkin. He fled towards the back-door side. And my girl without smiles entered the house, carrying a basketful of worthless burden, my Jamo branch". In this song there is a covert allusion to the hair-breadth escape of all over, who was surrounded by his sweet-heart's men but the girl was clothed in shame and was chastised.

Another primitive institution of the Saur is their annual spring meets. These take place in the months of Chaitra or Baisakh

Annual spring or even so late as the last day  
meets: of Jaist which is called Raja-sankranti. On Buja Sankranti,

the earth is traditionally supposed to be in her menses. The end of Summer and the advent of the first rains clothes the earth in new verdure. It must be noted in this connection that Raja-sankranti is a day of festivity for all Hatua castes. Each Saur household generally contributes a few seers of rice and one or two pills for the feast. The men on the appointed day go inside the forest and enjoy the feast. They indulge themselves in drink and also hunt small animals inside the forest. On this occasion they also discuss weighty matters concerning their caste disputes and try to settle them in their own way. Each Saur village has a head-man called *Behāra* and the headmen of several villages are subordinate to a *Bara Behāra* or greater head-man. When the head-men of a particular village finds any body going wrong he calls a meeting of the

villagers to decide what steps should be taken against him. Excommunication or other social punishments are meted out in the meeting of the villagers. It is only when the villagers and their Behara are unable to decide a matter satisfactorily, it is referred to the Barabehara of the group of villages. In the spring-meets grave and important matters which have been referred to the Barabehara are decided. The spring meets are like the days of festivity. The Sauris enjoy them to their hearts' content.

Mr. S. C. Roy in his book on the Orāons of Chotanagpore also notices the prevalence of spring meets among the Orāons. According to him women in Orāon villages dress themselves like men and go about the village to create an impression on the outside enemies that the villages are not deserted by all able-bodied men. There is no such custom among the Sauris. Even if they had such a custom among them in the past, they have forgotten it quite. Nor is there any necessity for it now as Saur villagers of today are not disturbed by any outside invaders. Peace and tranquility reign in them. In spring and early summer the forests look lovely in their new green. I wish the Hātua castes could organise spring meets and enjoy life and nature as the Sauris do now.

The Sauris have quite forgotten their mother tongue and adopted the Oriyā language. But their peculiar tone and intonation and the abnormal quickness that alternates with nervous hesitation in the pronunciation show that

The language of  
Sauris.

Oriyā is only their language of adoption and Oriyā phonetics have not gone deep enough into the head and heart of these people. Certain words seem to slip off their tongues with striking quickness and the effect they produce on the hearers is as if they coalesce together to form a compound, making the meaning hard to understand. On the other hand they seem to make too long a pause between certain words and this also tends to make their meaning obscure. Their peculiar mode of pronunciation is called *Sabara Dhandha*.

The religion of the Saur̄s may be briefly defined as a crude form of animism. The Saur̄s believe in the existence of spirits, mostly malevolent by nature, whose propitiation is considered necessary for prevention of calamities. The absence of any medical science makes them rely entirely on supernatural agency for the cure of diseases. They have numerous gods and goddesses, Their names differ from place to place. Bhunjā is the principal god of the Saur̄s. The name seems to come from Bhui or the Earth. The Saur̄s offer animal sacrifices to appease the spirit of the earth when they bring a piece of waste land under cultivation. The Bhunya spirit is the lord of the jungle and his aid is sought in driving away wild animals as well as in entrapping them for the purpose of food. His assistance is also invoked in generating fire by rubbing two pieces of wood. When ignition takes place the first sparks are offered to Bhunya. All eatables are



offered to him first and it is believed that if the food is not offered to this spirit before taking it, he would enter the body of the defiant and cause vomiting of blood which invariably proves fatal. Next in rank comes Baman Deyee. She is a goddess and is worshipped once a year on the full-moon in the month of May. She is invoked when one is possessed of an evil spirit or afflicted with any disease. Next in order comes Jaga Mayā, the goddess of Cholera. She is worshipped both for the prevention and cure of that fell disease. There is no fixed time for her worship; Chhena Sarbat is her favourite offering. Banti is the physician god, the son of Bhuasuni. He gives his commands through an inspired person or Kalshi and whatever that man prescribes or administers in his inspired state of mind is deemed a sovereign remedy. This is nothing but reliance in faith-cure which is common to all half-civilised people. Khandual, Khapar Chandi and Fulmarna are less important goddesses, worshipped for the cure and prevention of diseases.

There is a faint trace of ancestor worship among these people. In the main room of a Saur house there is a small *bedi*. Ancestor-worship. or platform of earth in the north-east corner. An areca nut is placed on the *bedi*. This is called Ishwana. Here the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to dwell. On the occasion of Sravan Purnima festival as also on the occasion of every birth and marriage, the spirits of the ancestors are evoked by the Saur and offerings of rice and fruits are

made to them. When a man dies, on the eleventh day after death, a little fire is kindled inside the house on the spot where the man died to purify the house as well as to appease the disembodied spirit. After the purification is over the spirit of the deceased is supposed to take a place on the Ishwana along with the spirits of ancestors long dead and gone. The Ishwana is a sacred spot of the household. The Sauras when called upon to give evidence before their Behara are made to touch the Ishwana and swear by the spirits of the dead. It is supposed that the spirits of the ancestors are angry with a man who has the effrontery to tell solemn lies after touching their seat in the household, and they shall ruin the liar who profaned their sacred seat. When a new set of *handis* or cooking vessels are made, offerings are made to the Ishwana to appease the spirits of the ancestors. If I may hazard a conjecture about the original home of the tribe, I would say that the Sauras came to Orissa from the North-East and that is why the North East corner of the main-room of the house is set apart for the spirits of the ancestors. This would make the original house of the Sauras somewhere in the Chotanagpur plateau. But the Sauras have no memory of their migrations into Orissa and the theory of the Ishwana worship cannot be stretched to connect it with their migrations.

#### *The Patara Savaras.*

We shall now deal with the Patara Savaras.



They are so called because they used to dress themselves in leaves. Even now

The name and the Patara Savara women wear habitats. nothing but leaves. They do not

cover the upper part of their

bodies save that they put on strings of beads on their necks, which run down to their waist. The

leaves used for clothes are the leaves of *seali* creepers. The leaves are dried in the shade to

prevent them from becoming crisp. They are then tied one to the other by strings made from

certain creepers in quite a neat and tidy fashion, so that the whole forms a tight-fitting girdle

extending to the knees. The men now-a-days do not wear leaves but use a loin cloth only. As

we have said above, the Patara Savaras represent the most primitive section of the Savaras. They

are found in the hills and forests of Orissā and Ganjam. At the present moment they live on

hills, which form a line, as it were, parallel to the Eastern Coast, extending from the Feudatory

State of Keonjhar to the Agency tracts of Ganjam. Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Pal Lahera, Hindol are among

the Feudatory States of Orissā that have still a sprinkling of this primitive tribe.

It is really refreshing to mix with these primitive people. Bold and cheerful in the extreme,

they have kept up their primitive General character. simplicity. But they are a ferocious

people and when their blood is up, they are capable of the worst cruelty. I shall

detail below a few striking anecdotes about these people, which show the stuff they are made of.

A Pandit with a servant had occasion to go into the interior of Dhenkanal State. He was going to see the Raja and was accompanied by his son, a boy aged about ten years. The Savaras learning that the Pandit was going to the Raja received him warmly and gave him provision and other necessaries. While he was cooking his meal, his servant went inside the hut and laughed at the fantastic dress of the women. An hour later, a huge crowd collected on the spot armed with sticks, bill-hooks and axes and demanded reprisal on the Pandit's servant for offending the women of the house. The Pandit was a shrewd man and saw through the whole thing. He pacified the mob by sweet words and promised to give his servant over to the rude justice of the Savaras. He, however, took the servant inside and put on his cheeks soot and charcoal powder to give him the appearance of a hobgoblin. He then brought him out and pleaded that the servant in this fantastic appearance was laughing heartily not at the women, but only with the purpose of frightening the boy to sleep. This satisfied the mob quite. On another occasion three travellers from Cuttack saw a group of Savara women, dressed in leaves and laughed at them. Later on, they saw a crowd coming up to them and scenting what they were about, one of them applied the match to his moustache and had it burnt out partially. When the crowd came up, the travellers offered the explanation that they had been laughing at the unfortunate accident, that happened to

one of them, who got his moustache burnt while lighting a country cigar. The mob dispersed satisfied with the explanation, and the women who lodged the complaint were severely taken to task by the enraged mob.

An instance of striking courage and coolness has been given to me by an old man, who spent a part of his life among these people. A tiger had carried off a milch cow of a Savara from its pen. The master of the house was then away. On coming back, he flew into a rage, took his axe and went in quest of the tiger. He had not gone far, when he met the tiger sitting on his kill. Then followed a tussle which no pen can describe, and no tongue can adequately tell. In the end the tiger got a series of mortal injuries and lay gasping on the spot. The Savara too got a number of injuries on his body, but he managed somehow to reach his house. Herbs and simples collected from the forest were applied to his injuries and the sores took a few months to heal. They are a hospitable, credulous and simple people.

The Savaras are generally inoffensive when they are not roused by a real or supposed insult to their women. They can band together on a very short notice and can stand extreme privations when out on a hunt or scamper through the wood. They respect their women and respect the women of other people as well. They know how to open out their heart to a man whom they

look upon as their friend. They seldom tell lies; they do not know how to hide their thoughts in a jugglery of words. They are strong of limbs and know full well how to hit back when they have been hit. Drinking is their only vice. When stupefied with drink they often do not know what they are about. The worst sins and even incests are committed while under the influence of drink.

They generally live in small huts, the roofs and walls of which are made of timber, which they can get from the forest in any quantity. The roof is covered with soda. The huts are generally made on a hill side, and look pretty imposing from a distance. Inside these huts, everything is snug and clean. The women have the upper hand in a household, and they are so very industrious that they leave nothing to be desired, so far as their rude way of life goes. The Patara Savaras do not work as labourers, neither do they raise the paddy crop, which requires constant care and attention in its various stages. Their mode of agriculture is rude and primitive. They use a sharpened wood as a ploughshare and with it dig a little into the hill side, which has been previously made fertile by ashes of the woods they burnt down. They usually cultivate a few kind of pulses, which do not take long to ripen. This crop they gather and barter for other necessaries of life. They also grow in great profusion turmeric and ginger in the forest and sell them with profit. Various kinds of roots they collect and use as foods. They make strong

drinks from the flowers of the Mouha. They do not generally live in one place for more than three years. A number of sudden deaths, failure of crops or any other accident or calamity make them change their habitat and migrate to a different part of the forest. Their mode of cultivation also makes it difficult for them to raise a good crop from the same fields in successive years as the fields become less and less fertile and the yield decreases consequently. They take only a handful of rice which they supplement by games and fruits and roots collected from the jungles. On the whole, they are a thrifty people and know how to save for the rainy day.

In their sexual life they seem to be more pure than their compeers of the plains, the Sauras, whom we have already mentioned before. Monogamy is the general rule, but polygamy is practised in a few families as well. It seems that polygamy among them is due to their contact with the people of the plains. It is never ingrained in their social constitution. The Patara Savaras are very loving fathers and affectionate husbands. Some of them after the death of their wives do not marry again and remain widowers to the last day of their life.

There is a curious custom prevalent among these people. They do not copulate after night-fall. The custom might have originated from imitation of the habits of certain birds and animals, but about that one cannot speak with certainty. A whole family consisting of males, females and



children live huddled together in one room for the night, and one who does not know their habits will at once rush to the conclusion that the moral standard of these people is rather low. But then he will be greatly mistaken.

Near their hamlets, we see clean spots inside the forests. Each married couple go to one of these spots to enjoy themselves. They put a thorn bush across the pathway leading to these spots when they are there, as a warning to others not to come that way. If that warning is not noticed, and any outsider chances to go to these spots and tamper with their privacy, he is dealt with severely by all the villagers. They say that God has given the day for work and enjoyment and night for absolute rest. It is a sin against nature to copulate at night. It must be mentioned also that the Khairwars or Kharias of Mourbhanj and Singbhum also follow the same custom and do not copulate during night. The sun is the eye of the day. His disappearance in the west causes some sort of alarm to them. Forests at night have their terrors. Dangerous animals lurk in them and it is impossible for these people to go outside their house. Their safety lies in taking shelter inside their houses at night-fall. Generally a whole family have one single room to live in. It may be that this curious custom of not having sexual intercourse at night originated in the habit of these people of living huddled up in the same room. A habit pursued for ages afterwards appears in a quasi-religious character.

Spring-time is auspicious for marriages. The marriage ceremony is very simple. No priest comes to celebrate it. The rites, such as they are, are quite simple and do not take much time. The prohibited degrees for marriages among the Patara Savaras are not the same as among the Sauras. The maternal uncle's daughter is deemed to be eligible for marriage. The bridegroom comes to stay in the house of his maternal uncle for a month or so and falls in love with his daughter and announce to the household their intention of marrying each other and a day is fixed for the marriage. This is the custom among the Patara Savaras of the Ganjam Agency Tract. Marriage is by choice; free-love before marriage and even coitus before wedlock are rather common among the Patara Savars. The guardians and parents freely give their consent to a marriage resulting from free love and choice; sexual misbehaviour is strictly confined within the immediate family circle or within the caste-people of the same hamlet. The Patara Savara hamlets are far away from the plains, secluded in the hills and woods. The villagers of the plains have hardly any access to them. The differences in the manners, customs, habits and language are such as to preclude any idea of sexual connection. It not unoften happens that a particular family with daughters and daughters-in-law live on a hill-side, the monarch of all it surveys. The Patara Savaras jealously guard their wives. Their wildness and ferocity to a great extent prevent outsiders from of tampering thinking with their connubial rights.



The Patara Savaras are good tenants. They are always faithful to the chief in whose domain they happen to live. They are The Patara Savara even ready to shed their life as tenants. blood for him. But they, unlike ordinary Oriyā tenants do not stand petty tyrannies. The petty rent-collectors of the Rajas also dare not trouble them with their vexatious demands. They do not pay rent in coin but they themselves keep apart a portion of the produce of their hill-side fields for the Raja, which they render to the Raja's rent-collector the moment he goes to them for collection. A Patara Savara hamlet makes over a decent amount of turmeric, ginger and pulses to the Raja's rent-collector every year. A deep sense of loyalty to the person and throne of the chief is ingrained in the character of these people. I am told by a high authority about the Feudatory States that the very name of the Raja has a magic influence over these people. However much these people may be agitated and even when they appear in their battle-array to avenge themselves on any wrong-doer, the name of the chief will at once calm them down and they will gladly stay their hands for the time being awaiting his decision. The Raja's orders whatever they are, have to them a special sanctity all their own. They do not question the correctness and justice of the Raja's orders, but accept it in all humility as gospel truth. They do not render *begar* or service gratis to the chief which is quite a common feature of other tenancies of the Feudatory

States. They have a refreshing freedom about them and they keenly resent any wrong that may be perpetrated on them. They pay the Raja's share of the produce of their fields in due time and they have nothing to do with him or his officials for a whole year next following the payment of rents. They have the right by time-honoured usage to collect forest produce. They make a present of some choice forest fruits to the Raja on the Sunia day—the first day of the Oriya year, and in return enjoy free and uninterrupted enjoyment of the forest produce. They wantonly destroy woods in the hill sides. They are a great menace to the forest department of the Feudatory States. They do not confine their ravages to the under woods, but they would destroy a virgin Sal forest to pitch up a few straggling huts on the hill-side, to which they do not ordinarily stick for more than three years or so.

The Patara Savaras now-a-days know Oriya pretty well. They do not feel any difficulty in talking with an outsider. But Their language, they have still a language of their own in which they talk among themselves. Like other aboriginal languages it has no literary form. It has fallen into different dialects, so that the language spoken in Ganjam, for instance, is quite different from that spoken in Hindol or Dhenkanal. The nomad habits of the Patara Savaras their wildness and inaccessibility are also great hindrances to the collection of their language on a literary scale. Any scientific collection of a language, must deal with

the syntax or other grammatical forms and it requires some knowledge of sister languages and dialects to deduce the grammatical forms of a rude language like that of the Savaras. Their accent and pronounciation are so peculiar that any attempt at transliteration of their language seems to be hopeless to a neophyte. But a linguist can do a good deal on the line. No linguist has, to our knowledge, attempted a scientific collection of the Savara dialects. It is high time that some attempt should be made in the line; for the vanishing traces of an unwritten language, when once lost, cannot be recalled. The Savaras are fast disintegrating and their language is taking in a daily increasing amount of foreign words and phrases which it will never be able to get rid of. In the interests of philology and research an attempt should be made to make a scientific collection of the dialects before it is too late. The difficulties on the way seem to be too great for private enterprise. The Government alone can take up the work by engaging an expert in aboriginal languages with some knowledge of Dravidian philology as well.



## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

### I. UNTOUCHABLES AMONGST ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

One disposed to hold friendly intercourse with others is called social. The others with whom he associates are generally of his own kind, belonging usually to his country, his own district, his own town or village, to his own house or to his own family. With this social intercourse, a society is built and the society's doings when given a scientific turn become what is known as sociology. Thus Sociology deals with the "associated life of humanity". But Hindu sociology appears to be wider, embracing as it does animals and plants. The Hindu social rules divide humanity into various grades, the primary divisions being touchable and untouchable. The touchables are again divided into 4 classes, the well-known Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sūdra, but the untouchables have no such divisions. In fact they are relegated to the last class, the S'ūdras, who thus get divided into two sections, the touchable S'ūdras and the untouchable S'ūdras. If the touchables happen to touch the untouchables, they get polluted and have to purify themselves generally by taking a bath. This sociological rule has been extended to the lower animals and plants. There are also Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and S'ūdras amongst them and also touchables and

untouchables. A bullock is a Brahman, a lion, a tiger or a horse is a Kshatriya, a fox is a Bania, an ass, a pig, a lizard, and a vulture are S'udras. In fact the S'udras just named are untouchables. Their touch does not pollute their own kind, but it pollutes the Hindus. If they happen to touch them they must purify themselves by taking a bath. Similarly in the vegetable kingdom, Pipal and Bar are Brahmans. They are invested with the sacred thread. People of all classes would prostrate themselves before them. They dare not uproot them or cut their branches. They are extremely afraid of their displeasure. They propitiate them with offerings as they would do in the case of a live Brahman. Then there are the low-caste trees just like Hiwar (Reongha) which is considered to be a Mahar and Mehndi (Hina) which is a Chamarin. Nobody would use sticks of these plants as tooth-brush, as being of low caste they would pollute the mouth. They would not use faggots of these plants in the kitchen, as food cooked with their aid would get polluted.

The examples I have quoted above refer to prejudices met with in the Central Provinces. It would be an interesting thing to collect information from other provinces to show this curious evolution of high and low on the Indian soil. It would be still more interesting to collect examples of such a development amongst other people outside India, and to ascertain whether they are still prevalent or have become obsolete.

HIRA LAL, B. A., M. R. A. S.  
(Rai Bahadur).



## II. NAMING THE DEAD.

In the Muhammiadan royal families it was customary to give a respectful name to the dead, for instance, Babar after his death was named Firdans-Makānī which literally means "one who has his house in the heavens." Humayun was named Januat-Ashiyānī (one who has his rest in the heavens). These are not phrases like Swargavāsī, Vaikunṭha-vāsī or Kailāsa-vāsī (heaven-dweller) used in the sense of "the late" along with the names of dead persons. They were used as proper names of individuals in the other world. Gul-badan Begam in her *Humayun Nawab* has used them as such without mentioning the names of Babar and Humayun by which those Kings were known in this world. It would be interesting to know whether the custom of naming the dead prevails anywhere else.

HIRA LAL, B. A., M. R. A. S.  
(Rai Bahadur.)

### III. ON A BENGALI MAGICAL RITE FOR THE PREVENTION OF APPREHENDED HYDROPHOBIA.

In the morning of Thursday the 27th August 1925, I witnessed the performance of the under-described magical rite for the prevention of Apprehended Hydrophobia. The performance took place in the house No. 9, Protap Chatterjee Lane (off College Street, Calcutta,) where a Bengali boy and a Hindustani servant had been bitten by a dog. On going to the scene of performance I saw the Bengali medicine-man or *Ojha* sitting with the following materials by his side. He had with him a bell-metal platter (পালা), a spherical-bottomed earthen-ware saucer (সরা), a piece of white chalk and two lumps of mollasses (গুড়).

- 1 He recited some *mantras* upon the bell-metal platter.
- 2 He wrote on the outer side of the spherical bottom of the earthen-ware saucer some *mantras* or charm-formulæ in Bengali characters.
- 3 He then recited upon the two lumps of গুড় some *mantras* or charm-formulas.

I wanted to collect from the Bengali medicine-man, the text of the *mantras* or the charm-formulæ but he refused to give me the same by remaining silent. The by-standers said: "If he gives you the *mantras*, his occupation would be gone".



So far as I could judge from the inquiries made by me from the Ojhā, *the modus operandi* for performing the magical rite is as follows:—

(a) First of all, the patient is made to eat a lump of charmed molasses.

The effect of this operation appears to be that the charmed गुरु after being taken internally will have the same effect upon the patient's system as Allopathic or Homeopathic or Ayurvedic Medicine has upon it.

(b) Then the charmed bell-metal platter is applied by the medicine-man to the patient's back. The Ojhā told me:—"If there be in the patient's body any virus of the dog that has bitten him the platter will stick to his back. But if there be no such virus in his body, the platter will fall off from it". He further told me that as there was no virus in the bodies of the Bengali boy and the Hindusthani servant for whose cure the rite was being performed, the charmed bell-metal platter, after being applied to their backs, had fallen off from the same. As regards this point, I shall make my remarks later on.

Then the patient was made to stand upon the charmed spherical bottomed earthenware saucer with its concave side up. The Ojhā said that as the saucer had been charmed, it would revolve automatically and that when the virus would wholly disappear from the patient's body, the saucer would get broken to bits of itself. The Ojhā further pointed out to me the broken bits of earthen saucer upon which the Bengali boy had stood, and said, "Sir, look at these bits of saucer

which has broken of itself after the virus of the dog-bite has disappeared from the boy's body". This had taken place before I went to the scene of the performance. But when I went there, I saw that the servant was standing with his feet inside this earthen saucer which, I saw, was revolving rapidly. But another man was holding with his own hands both the hands of the patient and was turning round with the latter as he was wheeling about. At first I felt sceptical about the truth of the Statement that the earthenware saucer was revolving automatically under the influence of the *mantras* that had been pronounced upon it. On expressing my doubts about it, the Ojha directed the outsider man to let go his hold of the patient's hands just to enable me to see that the earthenware saucer with the patient standing thereon, was revolving automatically. This was accordingly done and this earthenware saucer went on revolving. But still my doubts on this point were not removed. But just as I am writing this paper, my esteemed pupil Mr. Rajendra Kumer Bhatta Charjya M. A., tells me that he has also witnessed several performances of this rite in the streets of Calcutta. He further assures me that he himself has seen on these occasions that the earthenware saucer with the patient standing thereon revolved automatically. As Mr. Bhatta Charjya is a highly educated young man, I can safely rely upon his testimony. Then again he points out to me another curious fact that if an adult or youngman of average weight and height would stand upon the earthen saucer of the kind used on such

occasion, the vessel would break of itself into bits as soon as the man would place even one of his legs on it. But in the performance of the rite which I witnessed, the adult servant was standing on the saucer but yet it had not got broken. Mr. Bhattacharjya tells me that this may be due to some mysterious influence—some magical potency of the *mantras* or the charmed formulæ that had been recited upon it. When I came away from the scene, the man was still revolving and the earthenware saucer had not got broken. The Ojha told me that this was due to the fact that the virus of the dog-bite had not till then entirely disappeared from the patient's body and that as soon as it would disappear from him, the earthenware vessel would get into bits, as it had done in the boy's case.

Now I shall discuss the point (b) mentioned *supra* about the application of the charmed bell-metal platter to the patient's back. This method of exorcising away the virus of dog-bite, is exactly parallel to that which is prevalent in Bihar as will appear from pages 217-221, of my article entitled "*North Indian Folk-medicine for Hydrophobia and Scorpion-sting*" which has been published in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI., Nos. 7 & 8, 1915. In this last mentioned paper, I have published the text, in Deva-Nagri script, of the *mantra* and the instructions for performing the Bihar rite for preventing Hydrophobia. For facility of comparison, I give below the English Translation of the Hindi

account of the method of performing the Bihari rite :—

- (1) "I seek the protection of the goddess Manasā.
- (2) The mother of all venomous creatures (i. e. the goddess Manasā). being more unkind than the venom itself, is sitting at home.
- (3) Under the influence of the powerful spells of [the goddess] Manasā, the venom in so-and-so's limb do enter—
- (4)—Do enter into this bell-metal [platter].

### **Directions.**

The patient should go to the exorcisers's house very early in the morning of a Sunday. There both the patient and the exorciser should purify themselves by bathing and then both of them should sit facing the east. Thereafter the exorciser, taking his stand behind the patient's back, should place a well-cleaned bell-metal platter on the patient's back and recite the aforementioned cure-charm three times and each time blow upon the patient. If there should be any venom in the patient's body, the platter will so firmly adhere to his body that, should any attempt be made to take it off from his back, he (the patient) will also fall upon the ground therewith. When the venom is thoroughly extracted, the platter will of itself fall off the patient's body.

Now I come to the point (c) The question arises : whether the medicine-man's statement that the earthen-ware saucer revolves automatically under the influence of the *mantras* or charmed formulæ recited by him over it,

is correct? In answer to this question, I may state that there are many occult powers in Nature which are unknown to laymen but which are well-known to and utilised by experts in magic. European travellers in the East have frequently come across the exhibition of such occult powers made by Professors of the Black Art. These latter have, by the influence of their magic spells, made inanimate objects move automatically.

Professor, E. G. Browne, M. A., M. B. of Cambridge, during his sojourn in Persia in 1887-8, saw Persian magician perform the strange feats of making a comb move forwards and backwards automatically, under the influence of what was most likely his magical spell. This will be best set forth from the following description of the *Seance* written by Prof. Brown himself:—

“The magician Haji Mirza Muhsin, the controller of spirits and genii, expressed his willingness to prove to me the reality of that science concerning which I had doubt and said that all that he could accomplish he did by virtue of powers centred in him, not as men affirmed by the instrumentality of the *Jins*, which, indeed, were mere creatures of the imagination and had no real existence. Then he asked for a comb, which was handed over to him. Then he enquired from me whether our men of learning were acquainted with any force inherent in the human body, whereby motion might be communicated without touch, to a distant object, I replied in the negative



and said that, apart from the power of attraction latent in amber, the magnet and some other substances, we knew of no such force existing in the human body. Thereupon he undertook to demonstrate to me that he could make the comb come to me, from the spot where it lay, adding, at the same time, that though the distance in the case of the comb, was small and the object light and easily moveable, these factors did not matter in the least and did not in the least degree weaken the force of his proof and that he could equally transport me from the garden where I lived to any place which I might choose.

Having said so, he moistened the tip of his finger with his tongue, leaned over to the left, and touched the comb once, after which he resumed his former position, beckoned to the comb with the fingers of his left hand, and called "*Biya, Biya*" ("Come, Come"). Then to my surprise, the comb spun rapidly round once or twice and then began to advance towards him in little leaps, he continuing the while to beckon it onwards with the fingers of his left hand, which he did not otherwise move. So far one might have supposed that when he touched the comb with his moistened finger tip, he had attached to it a fine hard strand of Silk, by which, while appearing but to beckon with his fingers, he dexterously managed to draw the comb towards him. But now as the comb approached within eighteen inches or so of his body, he extended his left hand beyond it, continuing to call and beckon as before, so that for the remainder

of its course it was receding from the hand, always with the some jerky spasmodic motion.

Haji Muhsin now returned the comb to its owner, and requested me for the loan of my watch, I handed over to him the clumsy, China-backed watch which I had bought at Teheran to replace the one which I had lost between Erzerum and Tebriz, and he did not do with it as he had done with the comb, save that, when he began to call and to beckon to it, it made one rapid gyration and a short leap towards him and then stopped. He picked it up, looked closely at it, and returned it to me, saying "there is something amiss with this watch of yours; it seems to me that it is stolen property" In reply I told him rather tartly that I had not stolen it but that I had bought it in Teheran to replace my own watch, which I had lost in Turkey, and added that of course, I could not say how it had come into the hands of him from whom I had bought it. After this the magician became very friendly with me, promising to visit me in my lodging and show me feats far more marvellous than what I had just witnessed "You shall select any object you choose," said he, "and bury it wherever you please in your garden, so that none but yourself shall know where it is hidden. I shall then come and pronounce certain incantations over a brass cup which will then lead me direct to the place where the object is buried"\*

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\* *A Year amongst the Persians*. By E. G. Brown, M. A., M. B. London. Adam and Charles Black. 1893. pp. 453-455.



On a careful consideration of Prof. E. G. Browne's impressions of the Persian magician's mastery over the occult powers in Nature, I am of opinion that there is a substratum of truth in the Bengali medicine man's statement that by the influence of his *mantras* or charmed formulæ, he can cause the spherical bottomed earthenware saucer, with the patient suffering from the dog-bite standing therein, revolve automatically. \* \*

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.



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\* \* This paper was read before the section of Anthropology of the thirteenth session of the Indian Science Congress held at Bombay in January 1926.

## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for January to June, 1927, Prof. J. E. G. de Montmorency in an article headed *The Custodian of Tradition*, the author attempts to show that everywhere, in every phase of customary society, we find a custodian of Tradition who though not the sovereign, has many of the attributes of a sovereign (of which he is apparently not conscious) but thinks of himself as the incarnation of the group, the link between the group and the Ancestors who made a group possible, and the mediator between man and the divine Gods. Thus, says our author, among the peoples who move through the pages of the Rig-Veda we see the highest form of Ancestor-worship combined with a singularly pure form of belief in another after-life; and this religion was conducted by priests, one of whose main functions seemed to be the bringing of the dead man by way of the Ancestors into touch with the God of Heaven, who is also the God of the flowing waters on earth.

"Varuna the chief god of the Rig-Veda people, was the God of Rivers. The movement of the races was one of continual peril by water, and the leaders must ceaselessly have devised methods of progress and escape....The Custodian of Tradition was a way-maker as well as a purifier of the people". This Custodian of Tradition was, according to the author, the universal person, who made

possible the preservation of the group and of the linked groups, and so made possible those new ranges of human organization which some day, somewhere (perhaps sooner than we think) may give to the human race what was known to prescient Romans as *humanitas*.

In the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (new series vol. XXI 1925, no. 3.) issued in May, 1927, Mr. C. De Beanoyir Stocks contributes a monograph on *Folk-lore and Customs of the Lapchas of Sikkim*. In an Introduction the author gives a brief note on the geography and history of Sikkim, discusses the ethnical type of the Lapcha or Rong-folk, and gives a summary of his two tours in Sikkim. In Chapter I, the author gives some (a) Creation myths, (b) Zoological myths, (c) Heroic tales, and (d) miscellaneous tales (*Varia*), of the Lapchas, and presents an analysis of Lapcha folk-tales, and discusses the mythology and religion of the Lapcha as reflected in their tales. In Chapter II, an account is given of Lapcha customs relating to (a) family life, (b) birth, (c) marriage, (d) death and burial, and (e) miscellaneous observances. An exhaustive index of subjects dealt with, and names of persons and places mentioned in the tales, complete this interesting volume.

In vol. XXII, 1926, No. 3 (new series) of the same Journal (issued Sept. 1927) Dr. J. H. Hutton, describes a *Naga Hills Celt*, Dr. U. N. and S. C. Brahmachari describe *Two Neolithic Stone Implements found in a Tank at Jamalpur (Monghyr)*; Dr. S. L. Hora, gives an account of the *Nikasi*

ceremony among the Gonds in the Bilaspur District, Central Provinces, who employ a goat-kid as a 'Scape-goat' in the expulsion of sickness from a village.

In the same number of the Journal, Prof. H. C. Das Gupta, describes *Few Types of Sedentary Games* prevalent in the Punjab, known as *Dō-Guṭi*, *Tre-Guṭi*, *Neo-Guṭi*, *Sher-Bakar*, *Ratti-Chitti-Bakri*, and *Khutkā-Boia*. In conclusion he points out the striking resemblance between the Punjab game of *Ratti-Chitti-Bakri* and the game of *satul* in Sumatra, which suggests the possibility of its Indian rather than Malayan origin.

In the same number of the journal, Mr. D. N. Majumdar, describes Marriage and Betrothal rites among the *Hos* of Chōṭā Nagpur.

In Vol. XXII, 1927, no. 4 (new series) of the same journal, Prof. H. C. Das Gupta describes *A few types of sedentary Games*, one of which is found in the Central Provinces and the other two in Orissa.

In the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* for the year 1926, Rao Sahib Dr. V. P. Chavan contributes a paper on "Proverbs in Konkani Language", Prof. S. C. Mitra contributes four articles, one on 'The Custom of life-giving Charity in Orissa', a second 'On a Recent Instance of Human Sacrifice from the Central Provinces', a third 'On four Musalmāni Folk songs from Chittagang District' and a fourth on 'Riddles current in the Chittagong district', and the same author and Mr. R. K. Bhattacharjee write "On the Cult of the Godling Kshetrapala in

the Chittagong district"; Mr. S. S. Mehta writes about 'The Holy Rites during the Intercalary Month'; Rev. Dr. E. Hedberg writes a paper headed "Swedish Reminiscences in Indo-Aryan Languages", Dr. J. J. Modi contributes "A few Parsi Marriage songs of Nargol". This number also contains a paper on "Some further Notes on the Devaks of the Bombay Presidency" from the pen of (the late) Mr. R. E. Euthoven.

In the same journal for the year 1927, Mr. S. S. Mehta contributes an article on the 'Swastika' and another on "Champa Shashti and its Rites" and a third on "Some Marriage Rites among the Hindus"; Mr. R. K. Dadachanji writes (2 articles) on "The Comparatively Remotest, Primitive Antiquity of Aryan Civilization and Culture; and the Gross Prejudices of the West against the Aryan and for the non-Aryan East", and Dr. J. J. Modi writes an article on "The Belief about the Dubba or the Drowning Spirit in India, and its parallel in ancient Iran", and a "Note on the custom of the Interchange of Dress between Males and Females".

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for June, 1927, Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes an article "On a Satya Pir Legend in Santali guise"; Mr. M. N. Ray, contributes "Some Notes on Ancient Indian Society; Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy concludes his paper on the 'Marriage Customs of the Oraons', and Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes a note on "The Indian folk-belief about the corpse eating its winding-sheet".



In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for July, 1927, Mr. S. T. Moses contributes an article on "The Tortoise in Indian Life and Religion" and Mr. S. C. Mitra continues his 'Studies in Bird-myths'.

In the October (1927) number of the same journal Mr. S. C. Mitra further continues his "Studies in Bird-myths".

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for September 1927, Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari contributes an interesting article on "The Ancient Tamils and the Nagas".

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**An Introduction to Anthropology.**—*By Prof. W. D. Wallis. (Harper & Brothers, 1926), PP. XVI + 520.*

Teachers and students of Anthropology will accord a cordial welcome to this comprehensive outline of all the main divisions of the science of Anthropology. The book is divided into five parts and forty-two chapters. The two chapters of Part I (Physical Anthropology), deal respectively with Man's heritage and kinship, and with the Place of Origin, distribution, and physical types of mankind. Part II, which deals with Prehistoric Man is divided into three chapters headed respectively, the Structure of Prehistoric Man, the Stone Ages, and the Metal Industry. Part III, which deals with Economic and Industrial Activities is divided into 9 chapters dealing respectively with Physical Environment and Culture, Fishing—Hunting,—Domestication of Animals,—Agriculture,—Transportation,—Trade,—Money and Finance,—Foods,—Drinking,—Smoking and Chewing. Part IV, which deals with Science, Magic and Religion is divided into 9 chapters headed respectively, Man and the Animals, Nature and Natural Phenomena, Botany, Geography, Psychology, Time Divisions and Calendar, Magic, Amulets and Charms, Religion. Part V, which deals with Social Morphology and Culture is divided into 15 chapters headed respectively, Ethics, Opinion, Social Organization, the Status of the Child, the Position of Woman, Birth Rites,



Marriage Rites, Death Rites, Language, Mythology Decorative Art, Culture and Culture Areas, the Diffusion of Culture, the Varied Achievements of Mankind. The Introductory Chapter of the book deals with the Scope of Anthropology, and the last but one Chapter of the Book deals with Anthropological Problems and the last chapter is headed Conclusion. The book gives a succinct and lucid exposition of the entire science of man and supplies a long-felt want. The author judiciously avoids attempts at theoretical reconstruction in a book like this, but supplies abundant illustrations from existing primitive life.

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**The Nature of Man.**—By George A. Dorsey, Ph. D. (Harper & Brothers, London). 1927 pp. 104, Price 3s. 6d. net.

In this book after an introductory chapter on 'Man', 'Nature', and 'Behaviour', the author discusses the different kinds of human behaviour in five successive chapters headed respectively, 'How Man lives: Visceral Behaviour', 'How Man Grows: Genetic Behaviour', 'How Man Responds: Somatic Behaviour', 'The Family Situation, Social Behavior', 'The Rise of Civilization, Cultural Behavior'. The view-point of the behaviouristic school is clearly set forth in this little volume, and although we may not see eye to eye with the author

on many points, we can confidently recommend the book to our readers as a clear and concise exposition of the position of the behaviouristic anthropologist.

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**Religion in the Making.**—By Dr. A. N. Whitehead, F.R.S. etc (Cambridge University Press, 1927). pp. X+145, Price 6s. net.

The book consists of four lectures which were delivered as Lowell lectures in 1926. The aim of the lectures, the author tells us in the preface was to give a concise analysis of the various factors in human nature which go to form a religion, to exhibit the inevitable transformation of knowledge, and more especially to direct attention to the foundation of religion on our apprehension of those permanent elements by reason of which there is a stable order in the world, of permanent elements apart from which there could be no changing world.

Religion is defined by our author as 'the art and theory of the internal life of a man'. This doctrine is the direct negation of the theory that religion is primarily a social fact. 'Religion,' says Dr. Whitehead, "is what the individual does with his own solitariness. It runs through three stages, if it evolves to its final satisfaction. It is the transition from God the Void to God the Enemy,

and God the Enemy to God the Companion." "Collective enthusiasms, revivals, institutions, churches, rituals, bibles, codes of behaviour, are the trappings of religion, its passing forms. They may be useful or harmful; they may be authoritatively ordained, or merely temporary expedients. But the end of religion is beyond all this". The four factors in which religion receives external expression, are, in the order of their emergence, first Ritual, then Emotion, then Belief, then Rationalization. Ritual, according to our author, is the primitive outcome of superfluous energy and leisure, and is the stimulus to emotion. It is in the primitive phase of religion, dominated by ritual and emotion, that we are dealing with essentially social phenomena. Ritual is more impressive, and emotion more active when a whole society is concerned in the same ritual and the same emotion. But mere ritual and emotion cannot maintain themselves untouched by intellectuality. So, myths rose out of the vivid fancy of primitive men in an unfathomed world to explain the purpose both of the ritual and emotion. The age of martyrs dawns with the coming of rationalism. "The antecedent phases of religion had been essentially sociable. Many were called, and all were chosen. The final phase introduces the note of solitariness. Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way,.....and few there be that find it." "In this way religions evolved towards more individualistic forms, shedding their exclusively communal aspect. The individual became the religious unit in the place of the

community; the tribal dance lost its importance compared to the individual prayer; and for the few the individual prayer merged into justification through individual insight." The two main rational religions of the world, Christianity and Buddhism, says our author, are the outcome of the emergence of a religious consciousness which is universal, as distinguished from tribal, or even social. 'Because it is universal it introduces the note of solitariness.'

Considerations of space forbid us from entering further into the contents of this highly interesting book.

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**Man, God and Immortality.**—By Sir James G. Frazer, O. M., F. R. S. (*Macmillan, 1927*). pp. XVI+437. Price 15s. net.

As a clue to guide students through the mazes of Sir James Frazer's voluminous and invaluable works in social Anthropology and Primitive Religion and also as serving to give the general reader a glimpse of the invaluable treasures contained in those works, the present volume will serve a very useful purpose. Great credit is due to M. Pierre Sayn for the judicial selection and skilful arrangement of the materials contained in the book. The contents are divided into four parts headed respectively.—The Study of Man, Man in Society, Man and the Supernatural, and Man and Immortality. The more important general conclusions of

the author expressed in characteristic passages from his works, as given in this book, practically constitute a broad summary of Sir James' works. The book is sure to find place not only in the library of students and scholars but also of many other men of culture and literary or scientific taste.

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**Primitive Man : His Essential Quest.**—By J. Murphy, D. Litt. (*Oxford University Press ; London, Humphrey Milford. 1927*) PP. XIV+341. Price 15 s. net.

This is a very valuable contribution to the study of cultural anthropology by way of psychology. As Dr. Marett points out in his Foreword to the book, the last word about culture must always be with the psychologist, "because in its ultimate analysis culture is not an impression received from the environment by human nature but rather the expression of human nature projected into surrounding things." Throughout the book, Dr. Murphy has insisted that the innate natural impulse of man has been quest for unity—his craving for wholeness—his tendency at every stage of mental evolution to visualize an ideal world in dream and spending his life in realizing it. In this endeavour to unify both his thought and practical life, the imperfection of his instrument, the mind, its slow growth in unity and



in all its powers, and its uncertain grasp upon phenomena, account alike for the crudeness and immense variety of his primitive beliefs, on the one hand, and for his long periods of stagnation at low levels of culture, on the other, while the developing power of mental integration is the means by which man attains the loftiest achievements of his philosophy and art, his ethics and religion. While acknowledging the value of the transmission theory in directing attention to the great part played by the migration and contact of peoples and the consequent diffusion of one culture over a wide area, and also to the important role of degeneration of races, the author rightly insists throughout that the resemblances in man's ideas and practices are chiefly traceable to the similarity in structure of the human brain everywhere, and in the consequent nature of his mind. "The similar operations of the common mind of the race—more fragmentary in their data, more rudimentary in their powers, and vaguer in their results—explain the appearance of such beliefs and institutions as Totemism, Exogamy and the many purifications of rituals, in most widely separated peoples and portions of the globe. In particular, the data for the thoughts and inferences of primitive man are very limited and are much the same everywhere. The nearer we come to the earliest type of man, the more the means to his ends tend to coincide over the whole race; as is shown by flint tools and weapons scattered all over the world and in many strata of time. Hence the

similarity in the means he takes in various peoples and ages to express his early religious and social ideas, and attain his crude moral and spiritual ends". Of late, diversity has been emphasised to the point of extravagance, and it is time that the essential uniformity should be stressed once again: As Dr. Marett finely and truly puts it, "To the psychologist the history of culture seems like an endless variation on the same tune, with increase of harmony as its intrinsic motive and reward".

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**An Outline Introduction to the History of Religions.**—By T. H. Robinson, M. A., D. D. (London Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford. 1926). PP. XII+244. Price 5 s. net.

This is a well-written and sane introduction to the History of religions. Most inquirers will agree with the author that it is not unlikely that in the long run we shall be led to the conclusion that religion is to be traced back to a number of different sources. "Man's knowledge of God may have the humblest origin, and may be traceable to the most elementary instinct and to the most primitive thought. But it does, nevertheless, progress, and its history is the record of a continuous discovery of God." The book is divided into nine Chapters headed respectively, I Introductory, II Proto-Religion; III Animism; IV Polytheism; V Philosophy and Religion; VI Philosophical



Religion; VII Monotheism ; VIII Islam; IX Christianity. The author observes, "For ages man has been struggling towards God, and in this twentieth century we yet stand, as it seems, far nearer to the beginning of the quest than to the end." Luther admits, however, that "There is no doubt that in the quest of the Ultimate, the Indian thinker has gone further than any other, and has developed a pure pantheism" of which the essential doctrine is expressed in the Sansrit formula *Ekameba advit tiyam*. The book will be found helpful by the student, and interesting reading by the general reader.

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**Environment and Race: A Study of the Evolution, Migration, Settlement and status of the Races of Man.**— *By Griffith Taylor, D. Sc. (Oxford University Press. London: Humphry Milford.) 1927 pp. XVI+354. Price 21s. net.*

This is a highly interesting work in which the history and migrations of early man are studied on anthropo-geographical lines. The author who is the head of the department of Geography in the University of Sydney discusses the causes underlying the decay of primitive peoples and primitive cultures, the good and evil effects of racial admixture, the status of the so-called 'Nordic' race as compared with that of the so-called 'yellow' race, and some other interesting problems including those confronting white settlers in various new environments. He firmly believes

that a changing environment is likely to be a major factor in determining racial evolution. It is interesting to note that as a result of his study of the distribution of man he is led to believe that the so-called 'yellow', or Mongolian type of man is a later product of human evolution than many western members of the so-called 'white' or European type; or, in other words, the Eastern Asiatic is farther from the primitive anthropoid stock, while the negroid and West-European peoples are earlier, lower offshoots from the line of human evolution. The author holds that Eurafica, Australasia, and America have been peopled by successive migrations from Central Asia set in motion by cycles of drought. Dr. Taylor holds skull measurements and hair texture as of basic importance and in association with the changing environmental factors as furnishing the best evidence of racial affinities. One criticism that might perhaps be made with regard to the author's discussion of anthropometric data is that he apparently takes little account of variations from the mean of cephalic and other indices. But, on the whole, the book is a highly interesting and suggestive study, and deserves to be studied and pondered over by all students of anthropology.

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**The Group Mind: A sketch of the Principles of Collective Psychology with some attempt to apply them to the Interpretation of National life and Character.**—By *William McDougall, F.R.S.* (*Cambridge University Press, 1927.*) pp. XXII+304. Price 15s. net.

This is the second edition of a standard work written by a distinguished specialist. No student of sociology, psychology and allied studies can afford to neglect this. As the author explains in the preface, to this edition, the title 'Group Mind' is not meant to devote "some mental entity that exists over and above all individuals comprised in the group and that might continue to exist though all the individual numbers ceased to be." The group-mind, says the author, may be regarded as what an influential school of German psychologists have called *Gestalt* or configuration of a higher order, in the sense which postulates no continuity of physical organization, recognises the organization of the group-mind as consisting in the similarities of structure of the individual minds (similarities which render them capable of responding in similar fashion to the common features of the environment, social and physical) and in those mutual adaptations of individual minds which render them capable of harmonious co-operation and reciprocal supplementation in their efforts towards the realizations of a common goal. Dr. McDougall maintains, however, that a society, when it enjoys long life and becomes highly organized, acquires a structure and qualities which are largely independent of the quali-

ties of the individuals who enter into its composition and take part for a brief time in its life. It becomes a organised system of forces which has a life of its own tendencies, a power of moulding all its component individuals, and a power of perpetuating itself as a self-identical system, subject only to a slow and gradual change. The book is divided into three parts. Part I deals with the General Principles of Collective Psychology part II with the National Mind and Character, and part III with the Development of National Mind and Character. While examining and fully recognizing the mental and moral defects of the crowd and its degrading effects upon all those who are caught up in it and carried away by the contagion of its reckless spirit, the author goes on to show how organization of the group may, and generally does in large measure, counteract these degrading tendencies, and how the better kinds of organization render group-life the great en-nobling influence by aid of which alone man rises a little above the animals and may even aspire to fellowship with the angels. The book deserves to be in the hands not only of every student of man and every psychologist, but of all teachers and heads of educational institutions, political and social leaders and heads of industrial and other mass—organizations.

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**Social Mobility.**—By *Prof. Pitirim Sorokin.*  
(*Harper & Brothers, New York and London, 1927.*)  
pp. XVII+559. Price \$5. 75.

The book is intended to help towards a better and fuller understanding of social dynamics in all its complex processes. Social mobility or an intensive shifting of individuals from position to position and a great circulation of social objects in horizontal and invertical directions are, as Prof. Sorokin points out, probably the most important characteristics of contemporary western society. And in the present volume the author outlines the principles that appear to him to cover the upward and downward circulation of individuals in the social system, and supplies us with an illuminating discussion, of the relation of this process of social mobility to social stratification and social change. Mobility, under some conditions, as the author shows, facilitates a better and more adequate social distribution of individuals than in an immobile society, facilitates an economic prosperity and a more rapid social progress, and favours an increase of individualism followed by a vague cosmopolitanism and collectivism. The book breaks new ground and forms a valuable contribution to the study of social evolution. The book will be of special interest to Indian students and will probably bring home to some of them who are not yet convinced of the greater need of increased mobility in Indian society.

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**Principles of Sociology.**—By Prof. F. A. Bushee, Ph. D. (New York: Henry Holt, 1927). pp. XIII. + 577. Price S. 3. 50.

Although this book is primarily intended to be used as a text book for college students, it will also be found highly interesting and useful by the general reader who wishes to gain a clearer understanding of the subject of human relations and the force at work in normal healthy societies. The book is divided into five parts dealing respectively with the General Principles of Social Progress, Economic and Political Factors, Genetic Factors, Psychological Factors, and Cultural Forces. The author takes care to point out that the developement on phase of social life has not preceded another, for the rudiments of all were present from the start; and evolution has considered in the simultaneous development of all departments of social life, these departments acting and reacting upon one another like the parts of a complicated mechanism. If the author has emphasized the genetic factors in the social process, it is because he believes "that the character and quality of the population are of much more importance in the life and development of social groups than would be indicated by the treatment of most writers." The reason why he has given rather brief treatment of the psychological factors is not because he under-estimates their importance but because he believes "they may best be developed as a separate branch of the science." We strongly recommend the book for the use of students as also of the general reader interested in human social relations.

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**The Abilities of Man; their Nature and Measurement.**—By Prof. C. Spearman, Ph. D., F. R. S., (Macmillan & Co., 1927). pp. VIII+415+XXXIII  
Price, 16s net.

This is the second of three volumes of which the first *on the Nature of Intelligence and the Principles of Cognition* was published in 1923, and a third volume giving a critical review of the chief general psychologies prevalent at the present day is to appear shortly; while the present volume presents the application of the general laws of cognition to individual differences of ability to "cognise." To the objection sometimes made that the processes of cognition cannot be possibly treated from conation and affection, the author rightly points out that every science, physical no less than psychological, is obliged to dissect its subject-matter to deal with its different aspects in succession and finally to bring each of these into relation with all the rest. After an examination of the current scientific doctrines on human ability, the author proceeds to a detailed examination of man's cognitive ability man as an instrument or *organ*, so to say at the disposal of any of his conative activities, with especial reference to its variations of efficiency from one individual to another. In this inquiry use has been made of three qualitative and five quantitative laws (those of Span, Retentivity, Fatigue, Conation, and Primordial Potencies—including such influences as those of age, sex, heredity and health. These have served to map out the entire domain of ability and thus render the whole of it amenable to



systematic investigation. Among results of these investigations have been the discovery of four universal factors, viz, (1) a quantitative value "g" (it is doubted whether there is any advantage in attaching to this 'g' the old mis-handled label of "intelligence") which proved to be a factor which enters into the measurements of ability of all kinds and which is throughout constant for any individual, although varying greatly for different individuals; (2) a kind of retentivity which may be called general mental inertia or lag (p) acting as a behaviour unit (comparative freedom from it contributing to quickness) or (3) 'originality' a third cognitive functional unity which appertains to the oscillation of mental efficiency (probably manifestations of fatigue) and is called General oscillation; and finally (4) a great functional unity which although not in itself of cognitive nature yet has a dominating influence upon all exercise or estimation of cognitive ability, and may be called by the unsatisfactory name of 'self-control' (which makes a person's ability to appear more "profound" or more inclined to "common sense"). For the purpose of building up an intelligible whole and also for that of inspiring further investigation, the author suggests by way of an explanatory hypothesis that we might regard 'g' as measuring something analogous to an "energy", that is to say, as some force capable of being transferred from one mental operation to another different operation. The other two cognitive universal factors established by the

author can, the author suggests, be regarded as further aspects of this same energy; while 'g' measures its quantity, the other two may represent its inertia and its oscillation.

The engine by which the energy needs to be supplemented is obviously supplied by the nervous system, in so far as its function is localised. Incidentally, this leads to the suggestion that cerebral localization serves three main purposes,—sensation, movement, and retention.

Dr. Spearman rightly claims to have in this book achieved a step towards supplying psychology with a scientific foundation, and stimulating psychologists towards investigation of more fundamental and therefore more fruitful kind than is now customary. In formulating his conclusions Dr. Spearman does not forget that they probably in the course of time suffer at least modification. We eagerly look forward to reading the promised third volume of this most illuminating series.

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**India's Past: A Survey of her Literatures, Religions, Languages, and Antiquities.**—*By Prof. A. A. Macdonell.* (Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1927.) pp. XII+293. Price 10s. net.

We heartily welcome this lucid summary of India's intellectual history and intellectual inheritance in its various aspects from the earliest recorded time down to the times when the modern European became acquainted with the Indo-Aryan. The author is a recognised authority on Ancient Indian

**Literature.** After an introductory chapter describing the physical aspects of India and their resulting effect on migrations of population into the country, the author proceeds in eight successive chapters to review the whole of India's intellectual history from Vedic times down to comparatively recent times. In the second chapter he deals with the language, the literature and the religion of the earliest Vedic period of the Aryans in India. In the third chapter follows an account of the later Vedic period and the introduction of writing; in the fourth chapter we have an account of the early post-Vedic age, including the rise of Jainism and Buddhism as well as their art; the fifth chapter deals with the epic and classical literature of India; the sixth chapter is concerned with Indian Stories, fairy tales, and fables, together with their important place in world literature; the seventh chapter treats of the various aspects of technical literature such as grammar, lexicography, philosophy, law, practical arts, medicine, astronomy and mathematics; the eighth chapter deals with the vernacular languages of India and their literature; and the ninth or last chapter shows how Europeans became acquainted with India's past by a study of her early literature, her inscriptions, her archaeology and her coinage, and includes an account of the labours of those European scholars by whom India's by-gone history has been recovered. At the end of each chapter is given a selected bibliography for further reference. Although here and there an occasional slight omission may be detected e. g.

the omission of 'Malto' the language of the Mal Paharias of the Santal Parganas, from the Intermediate group of languages enumerated at p. 216. We have nothing but praise for this brilliant and brief survey of India's literatures, religions, languages and antiquities. On two important questions, Prof. Macdonell differs from the now generally accepted views. These relate to the authorship of the plays attributed to Bhasa and the Artha-Shastra which is now generally attributed to Kautilya. He brings forward arguments in refutation of such authorship, which appear to have some force. The excellent illustrations and maps add to the value of the book.

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**Science and Human Progress.**—By Sir Oliver Lodge (*George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1927*), PP. 187. Price 4 s. 6 d.

This book consists of an inaugural course of six lectures initiated and endowed by Mr. Halley Stewart, on the general theme of Religion, Social Betterment and Human Progress. It was only fitting that the inaugural course should be delivered by the great scientist and spiritualist Sir Oliver Lodge who, as he says, has a message to deliver. He is convinced that the spirit of man is capable of much higher development in the future than it has yet attained and believes in the coming of the kingdom of heaven which must be identical with the reign of love, when the friendly unification of humanity into a family will be accomplished. Food and enjoyment for

all are possible, says the author, if the labour of mankind were rightly directed, if competition gave way to co-operation, and if each individual truly sought the welfare of the whole. "No individual can flourish happily if the society around him is rotten, so it is only reasonable that each should desire and work for the advancement of mankind as a whole. Towards that great object many of the paths must be indirect, though some are more direct than others. There is a path through Business and Commerce, when based upon straightforward and honest intercourse between man and man. There is a path through manual Labour, with its opportunities for meditation, and for corporate action with one's fellows. There is a path through Literature, Poetry and Art generally, wherein human imagination takes its highest flights. There is a path through History, with its study of the past and its application of the lessons to the problems of to-day. There is a path through Politics and Statesmanship, which, freed from party contests, would seem the most direct of all towards the social betterment of man. And there is a path through Religion, which cultivates the highest welfare of the individual, and seeks to concentrate his affection on things above, and not on things of the earth". Although compared with these the path through Science, with its exploration of the more material aspects of the universe, may seem to be indirect, yet increase of knowledge is essential, and we little know whither that increase of knowledge will lead.



The first lecture, makes a general survey of man's position in the universe and of his advances in the last century, the second lecture emphasizes the design and purpose aiming at the developement of man, the remaining four lectures sketch the interaction of the spiritual and material worlds; the whole leading up, after discussion on Reason and Imagination, and Imperfection as the mark of the Incomplete, to the problem of survival.

This is a thought-provoking book which should find a wide circle of readers.

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### **The Axe Age. A Study in British Prehistory.—**

*By T. D. Kendrick. (Methuen, 1925). PP. XII+177. Price 6 s. net.*

In this book Mr. Kendrick of the department of British and Mediæval Antiquities in the British Museum, describes the cultural advance achieved when ancient man passed from the hunting stage to that of the farmer, and tries the worth of a somewhat altered out-look. In successive chapters, the author discusses the Long Barrows, the Porthole Entrance to these borrows, the Megalithic Idea, the Date of the Long Barrows, the Dawn of the Axe Age, and the Eochaleic Episode. In chapter IV, the author brings forward good reasons for seriously doubting the Egyptian origin of the dolmen put forward by Mr. J. Perry and supported by Prof. Elliot-smith's suggestion of the resemblance between the dolmen and the Egyptian *mastaba*. The author adduces reasons for supposing

that the beginnings of the neolithic period in Great Britain are not lost in immense antiquity but barely enter into the third millenium before Christ, and that the progress represented by the building of the magnificent long barrows of Great Britain is essentially the outcome of a cultural stimulus exerted at the time when on the European continent the earliest knives and trinkets of bronze and copper were already in circulation. This megalithic phase seems to be a product not of a true neolithic civilization but is the result of an immense cultural advance achieved in Europe about the time of the first use of metal,—not the end of a long and obscure portion of the Stone Age but the beginning of a new period in British prehistory, the herald of the Bronze Age. The author points out it is a mistake to allow the gradual introduction of metal to shut off neolithic culture from the metal culture as belonging to a different Age, for a knowledge of metal does not imply its extended employment; and, so far as Europe is concerned, the culture preceding the real Bronze Age, that is to say the chalcolithic period or the dawn of the metal era, find the strength of civilisations resting on other advantages than the possession of little copper knife-daggers and such-like insignificant articles of the novel material. In the last chapter the author puts forward the hypothesis that the dawn of the metal era which exhibits great and uniform cultural advance immediately preceding and partly including the first use of copper and bronze in Great Britain is really an episode—a short



prelude to the Bronze Age and not an Age by itself. He suggests the name Eochalcic Episode for this period to which he assigns a period of 1000 years, namely *circa* 3000—2000 B. C.

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### **"Corridors of Time".**

1. **Apes and Men.**—By *Harold Peake and H. J. Fleure* (Clarendon Press, 1927). PP. VI+138. Price 5 s. net.

2. **Hunters and Artists.**—By *Harold Peake and H. J. Fleure*. (Clarendon Press, 1927). PP. VI+154. Price 5 s. net.

3. **Peasants and Potters.**—By *Harold Peake and H. J. Fleure*. (Clarendon Press, 1927). PP. V+152. Price 5 s. net.

4. **Priests and Kings.**—By *Harold Peake and H. J. Fleure*. (Clarendon Press, 1927). PP. 208 Price 5 s. net.

The Oxford University is to be warmly congratulated on their undertaking the production of the *Corridors of Time* series of which these four books form the first four volumes. This well-planned and well-written series aims at giving a plain account of human evolution "from the beginning until the iron sword heralded the beginning of classical times in the Mediterranean".

The names of the two authors are sufficient guarantee of the high worth of the books. Limits of space prevent the authors from going into the details

of their subjects or giving extensive references. but in the illuminating syntheses presented in these little volumes divergences of views are noted and the reasons for the authors' preferences are indicated and at the end of each chapter, a list of references to standard works is added. The first volume begins with the evolution of the earth's surface and carries the fascinating story down to mid-Pleistocene times and beyond, when prehistoric man at first camping in the open had already taken up his habitation in caves as the Neanderthal man was the first to do. Their culture, though apparently one and the same in spite of the progressive stages (Pre-chellian, Chellian, Acheulian and Monsterian) in which we find it, could not be the work of a single human race for we cannot include in one type the remains from Tauback, Ehringsdorf, Mauer, and Piltdown, and we must, therefore, postulate a uniform industry evolving by slow degrees through three successive interglacial phases, and used by several diverse types of men.

The second volume (*Hunters and Artists*) takes up the story from the gradual passing away of the last glaciation, known as the Würm Ice Age which is believed to have reached its greatest intensity about 23,000 B. C. Neanderthal man who continued to occupy various parts of Europe during the slightly milder conditions of the Laufen retreat, and survived the second maximum of the Würm, at any rate on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, was supplanted.

ted or rather succeeded in North Africa and later in Europe by *Homo sapiens* who is believed to have reached the South of France about 11,000 B. C. introducing what is known as Aurignacian culture. These new-comers were not all exactly of one type, because the considerable differences to be observed among the skeletons from the earliest deposits point to three main types (Grimaldi-Predmost-Combe-Capelle, and Cromagnon, besides other individuals, showing intermediate trails. Three distinct phases of Aurignacian culture (Lower, Middle and Upper) appear to have lasted from about 11,500 to 10,000 B. C. Throughout all this time, these Aurignacian men continued to carve figures and engrave small objects and to decorate the walls of the caves which they inhabited with figures of women, generally fat women, during the earlier part of the period, while engravings of animals, such as those they hunted for food, take their place towards the end. We are next introduced to the Ibero-Maurisians or the western group of Capsians who appear to have crossed the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain about 11,000 B. C. and occupied the eastern parts of the peninsula and made little pictures on the surface of stone beneath overhanging rocks, and in these they portrayed scenes of a life in a very vivid manner. This Early Capsian culture lasted on until about 9500 B. C. when it developed into the type known as Late Capsian. In the wake of hoofed animals from the eastern about 10,000 B. C. or earlier, we find the invasion of another horde of new-comers whose culture known as the Solutrean

is characterized by its highly finished spear-heads, shaped like laurel or willow leaves, worked all over with very fine pressure-flaking.

We then see how, as the first Bühl phase came to an end about 9500 B. C., the Upper Solutrean remnant appears to have diminished in number and importance, and the people from the north Spanish caves returned to their old haunts, introducing the culture known as Magdalenian which lasted from about 9500 to 6500 B. C. The several phases of cave art, which rose at first to the finest style of cave art, then grew careless, degenerated and finally collapsed with great suddenness at the close of the period. With the shifting of the storm zone further north, and the diminution of the rainfall and of the grass and of the hoofed animals which lived on it, the food supply of the Magdalenian folk was sadly reduced, and at this period we find the sudden appearance of a new industry in Spain, whence it passed to north and east Europe, in the Nile valley, the Jordan valley, Mesopotamia, eastern India and Ceylon. This industry, which consisted of very small geometric flint-implements, is known generally as microlithic, in North Africa and Spain as final Capsian, and in France and elsewhere in Europe as Tardenoisian. The advance-guard of the invaders amalgamated with a remnant of the Magdalenian folk in Cantabria, and jointly they developed the Lower Azilian culture. Later, before 6000 B. C., another wave entered France to the east of the Pyrenees and introduced there the Tardenoisian culture. Some of the picked

up elements of Lower Azilian culture combined it with their own. Thus an Azilian Tardenoisian culture spread over the greater part of Europe, more Azilian in the west and by the sea, and more Tardenoisian eastward and inland. The migrants probably combined with survivors of the Predmost group on the loess of central and eastern Europe, and it is further probable that these various elements contributed in due course to the evolution of the Nordic Race Type, as the Mediterranean race appears to have arisen by the intermingling of Aurignacian, Solutrian, Magdalenian, and Final Capsian elements, mostly fairly akin in south-west Europe, and to have undergone modification in certain directions in the course of its history there. By about 6000 B. C. we see a new people—the broad-headed Furfooz type—arriving in Central Europe from Asia and gradually spreading among the Azilian Tardenoisian folk and adopting their culture. During the whole of this time from 6500 to 5500 B. C., the various peoples were leading a hard existence, those with the more Azilian type of culture living sometimes in caves, but more often by the banks of lakes and rivers, or by the sea-shore, feeding on shell-fish, nuts, and berries, fish and a little flesh food. Those with the more Tardenoisian culture, with the exception of those at Mugem, seem to have hunted in their restricted grounds on the open sandy loess or on the limestone plateaux. With a slight elevation of the land and a recurrence of cold about 6500 B. C., the Baltic sea became closed at both ends, and what is now



Denmark rose above the water for the first time since the ice-sheet had left it, and we find there a culture called the Nörre-Lyngby culture which began soon after 600 B. C. and lasted to 5500 B. C. or later, and was succeeded by the Maglemose, which extended from Denmark to East Prussia, and westerwards to Holderness. This, which included some implements of definitely Tardenoisian type lasted until after 5000 B. C., when it was succeeded by the Svaerelborg culture, much more Tardenoisian in type, which in turn continued until nearly 4000 B. C. About 4,500 B. C. there was another slight rise in the land and lowering of the temperature, and after this land sank to about twenty-five feet below its present level, and the climate grew milder than it is now. The North Sea broke through the islands of Denmark, thus converting the Baltic into a very salt sea, the Littorina sea. Scandinavian geologists believe that the Littorina period lasted from 4000 B. C. to 200 B. C. when the coast-line reached its present level. During the first thousand years of this period, the people of the Baltic were living by the sea-shore, feeding on fish, shell-fish and occasional small animals. Elsewhere much the same kind of life was being followed by the water-side, and on the dry, open lands the people lived more on berries, nuts, or roots. To dig up the latter it has been suggested, they developed a kind of pick (sometimes called the compignian pick) or hoe, and the whole period, from about 4000 to 3000 B. C. or even

later, is sometimes called the Campignian period. Thus from a free and open hunting life the people of north-western Europe had been reduced to the status of the poorest food-collectors, inspite of two infusions of fresh population from the steppes of Asia and Africa. The closing in of the oak forest, completing the destruction of their hunting-grounds, was the main cause of this degeneration, and the people of Europe would have remained for ever in this backward state, had not movements from the east brought a fresh impetus into their lives.

The third volme (*Peasants and Potters*) of this excellent series, takes up the story of the crisis in human affairs in Europe that followed the northward shifting of the storm zone and the consequent change of climate and degeneration of European man. As with the northward shifting of the western winds, the forests and deserts spread, there was a tendency for people to settle by the margins of the rivers that flowed through the desert areas, and we find a considerable population collecting by the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates and by those of the Nile. Here we find that the people were giving up hunting, as game became scarce, and had taken to agriculture. All this time the peoples of the North and West of Europe remained absolutely unprogressive save for the dog and the pots, which appear to have been introduced from outside. And there are no indications of advance among these food-gatherers of prehistoric Europe even as late as 3000 B. C. It is from the East that all the main elements of civilization



appear to have been introduced to the West. But in the valleys of the Tigris the Euphrates and later the Nile at this time we witness the beginnings of the art of stone-grinding and of metallurgy, leading to carpentry and house-architecture, the invention of pottery and brick-making, and the domestication of animals. This group of inventions gave men new links with the soil and led to the rise of peasant communities. It also set men to search for new kinds of stone, and enabled them to settle in places where there were no supplies of flint. This, in turn, gave new motives for barter and led to the development of trade.

The authors suggest that the first elements of a settled civilization were evolved sometime between 6000 and 5000 B. C., either in the Upper Valley of the Euphrates or just where the river leaves the mountains and passes through the foothills before debouching on to the Mesopotamian Plain; and that the chief discoveries that led to this settled life were made by members of the Eastern Alpine or Armenoid Race as they came into contact with members of the Southern Steppe-folk just south of the mountain Zone. These discoveries were the cultivation of wheat and barley, the shaping of stone implements by grinding, the making of pottery, the invention of spinning and weaving, and the discovery that the ores of metal could be melted and cast in a mould. It seems likely, too, that the erection of permanent houses dates from about the same time. This reconstruction of early civilization is a matter of

inference from prehistoric remains. "Nearly all the elements that distinguish civilized man from the savage had been discovered before 5000 B. C. and we find that before 3,400 B. C. these had spread up the Nile to the Persian Gulf, apparently through Asia Minor to the islands of the Aegean Sea and to the Southern edge of the Turkestan Steppe. So far, however, we have met with none of these elements in the mainland of Europe". Thus "evidence is accumulating to show that the believers in the doctrine *ex oriente lux* are right, in the main at least".

The fourth volume (*Priests & Kings*) of this brilliant and most useful series, sketches the next phase of evolution when villages grew into cities and written records came to be kept and kings and priests became prominent features of civilization. The authors give us a vivid account of the rise of kings and priests in the old riverine land, and the great spread into Europe and Asia of peasants and traders that followed. These descriptions are most fittingly supplemented by a short but illuminating sketch of the drifts and migrations of mankind and of his racial types.

The volumes of this series are bound to prove of fascinating interest as much to the student as to the general reader.

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